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A RESUME OF "CHARLES MONTAGUE DOUGHTY: HIS LIFE AND WORKS".

Doughty's popular fame depends still on one prose-book, but his poetry is still neglected by the majority and ignored by a large section of those who know. To redress the balance and put the whole in perspective, this thesis begins by discussing minutely his roots in East Anglia, his family background and his school and university days. Here for the first time a list of his father's library books and a rare early poem written by the young Doughty in Cambridge are used to prove that contemporary literature was in Doughty's mind, when he reacted against the facile ways of literary expression and the immorality in literary circles. That reaction is shown to have decided his future career. His studies after that in earlier literature are traced minutely, and their certain fruits shown in the t urns of his thought and the new ideals in life in general and in literature in particular. When he left to the Continent in 1870, he is shown to have reached the mature stable basis of everything that one finds in all his prose and poetry. In general his attitude was one of reaction against the Nineteenth Century and an attempt to bring back the vigour of patriotism and the liveliness of the literature of Renaissance and Elizabethan England. With the Nineteenth Century as a basis, and the Renaissance as an ideal, a pattern is laid for a detailed study of different problems based on the various Doughty works. Each book is looked at mainly from one angle, although the other different sides of the work are not neglected. Doughty's attitude towards Islam, Arabia and the Arabs is shown to be a result and a continuation of the orthodox Christian European attitude through the ages. So follows a historical study of that background in European thought and English Literature from the earliest times to the Nineteenth Century. An objective unemotional attempt to

/to defend Islam and the Arabs follows. Then the linguistic side of the problem, the influence of Arabic on the style of 'Arabia Deserta' is studied, and Doughty's knowledge of Arabic is assessed. 'The Dawn in Britain' gives us the chance to study Doughty's knowledge of and ideas on the epic form. 'Adam Cast Forth' provides an opportunity for studying all the sources of the beautiful legend, and of Doughty's usage of these sources. 'The Cliffs' provides an opportunity for a study of Doughty's ideas on the contemporary scene and his solutions for the problems of today. 'The Clouds' is used to study the discursive rambling all inclusive 'form' of Doughty's works. 'The Titans' is Doughty's nearest poem to his geological studies, so Doughty's scientific ideas and their imaginative expression are dealt with. 'Mansoul' is his last message. Consequently his belief in the doctrine of the 'Inspired Poet', his belief in Man, his hope in the future of humanity, and his philosophy of virtue and love, his Religion and his humanism are studied. The 'Conclusion' follows with an apology for the great length necessary to deal with the mind, ways and works of this voluminous poet. In an appendix the list of books at Theberton Hall Library is given, and in another that rare poem of his young days "The Lay of the Long-One".

All through the thesis, Doughty's manuscript Word-Notes, Book-Notes, and letters and all the books written by the various scholars and critics on his works are used to get a better understanding of his thought and his books in this panoramic survey of his life and works.

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APPENDIX :

Doughty's first work was written about 1865 and his last work was published in 1923. If one was a constant reader of Doughty, one would have gradually acquired the taste by which Doughty's works could be enjoyed. But only a very small minority of the English reading public ever tried to read his works, so much so that his poetry has remained until now the cherished private possession of a few enthusiastic admirers. These might have, at first, been attracted by the strangeness of his diction or by the sheer bulk of his output, or by the wonderful flights of his strong imagination, or by the bright spots of gold, so frequently embedded in the course of his poetry. Though often baffled by the difficulties of his ways of expression, though sometimes at a loss at the confounding liberty that he takes with the English Langurge as they know it, though often irritated by the 'Victorianisms' of his content and manner, most of them have yet persevered in their admiration of his works. Doughty is certainly fortunate in his few selected admirers.

The list is not very long, but it includes the names of poets like William Morris, Robert Bridges, Ezra Pound and Hugh MacDiarmid, and critics like John Freeman, G.B. Shaw, Edward Garnett and John Middleton Murry, and scholars like Professor Barker Fairley, Anne Treneer. The earliest readers of Doughty, the first generation of those 'selected and chosen few', read his early works when they were first published, got into contact with him, wrote to him and expressed their admiration of his work, either in various letters to their friends or in reviews and essays in various literary periodicals. Some of them were his elders and some were his contemporaries but most of them were more famous at

the time than he was. Their work cannot be taken as a serious assessment or a full appreciation of his qualities, and their word could not be the last word on Doughty and his works. Yet their role was very important; first of all, as an effective factor in launching the work of this over-ambitious new writer who was himself hardly aware of his need of launching, and secondly as propagandists for this hermit-poet, who never cared for propaganda, and thirdly as his apologists and defenders against the attacks of the common run of literary reviewers of the time, the 'guardians of the faith', to whom Doughty must have seemed an easy target. Nor were his detractors at the time few nor unimportant, for even G.M. Hopkins misunderstood the work of this kindred spirit, who was actually his only brother revolutionary in the world of English Poetry at that time.

But that was probably not their fault alone, for Doughty himself was much more blind than they were to the literary output and the authors of his period, and he chose to fight what he considered the greatest and most important battle in his life and the life of Britain, alone and single-handed. He chose sometimes to write far away from Britain, in Italy or in the Levant. If he stayed in England, he would stay in perfect seclusion, away from the hum of everyday life, away from what he considered the corrupting influences of the language and literature of his day. He met no poets; he read no poetry of the later 19th or early 20th Centuries, and he joined no literary club or clique or circle. The few first admirers of his work would write to him often, but meet him only occasionally.

The most important of these early admirers was certainly Edward Garnett. For Doughty alone was himself responsible for launching his

great prose work on "Arabia Deserta", exactly as it was written, without bowing a whit to the exacting limitations and the instructions of his publishers in their bid to produce what would only suit the contemporary literary scene. It is not improbable to think that the book would never have been published if Professor Robertson Smith, the Cambridge Orientalist, had not been quick to recognise the great worth of the book in the field of Oriental learning and <u>not</u> in the field of English Literature. But it was Garnett, and Garnett alone, who was instrumental in launching Doughty's great literary achievement of "The Dawn in Britain", into the world of published literary works. From then till the end, he remained Doughty's staunch admirer and the upholder of his cause. It is no idle speculation to think that Doughty's works would have remained in manuscript, like those of his great contemporary G.M. Hopkins, had it not been for Edward Garnett. Would it have been better for the ultimate reputation of Doughty to remain unpublished until the suitable moment was chosen by a Bridges? Would Doughty then be as fortunate as Hopkins was to find another Bridges? All that is fortunately unnecessary speculation because Edward Garnett was the literary critic and 'reader' of Duckworth & Co. Garnett became Doughty's trusted friend and adviser and remained so to the end of Doughty's life. Why was it that Mrs. Doughty chose another of Doughty's friends as her husband's official biographer at his death?

As soon as Doughty's first major literary work was written, there started a tremendous quarrel between him and the Syndics of the Cambridge University Press, about his revolutionary ways of expression, and the work

would certainly have remained unpublished if it were not for its great contribution to the Oriental and Semitic Studies of the day. When the work was published, the reception given to it showed again the two sides referred to above. It was at once greeted as the greatest contribution until then to the understanding of Arabia and the Arabs. Its contributions to geography, geology, archaeology and sociology were instantly acclaimed, and Doughty became at once a great traveller and a great Arabist. The dividends which that instant recognition brought forward were to follow gradually until his death: the recognition by the British Association, the Golden Medal from the Royal Geographical Society, and the honorary degrees from the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge. Doughty's name thus stood high, even among the Orientalists of Germany, France and Italy. Doughty's whole present and future reputation seemed thus to depend on his contribution to Oriental Studies.

Now Mrs. Doughty, in her gentle disposition and noble nature, would have been the first to admit she was not a literary connoisseur, and thus it was natural for her, at his death, to choose the nearest and certainly the best Arabist among his friends to be his biographer. Hogarth died before he finished his book, and the other great Arabist among Doughty's friends was approached, and when he, T.E. Lawrence, declined, the job was completed by Hogarth's son, David.

Yet it was certainly not about his Oriental Knowledge that Doughty quarrelled with the publishers of his book. Neither was it the main reason why he studied so long and toiled so much. The subject-matter was Oriental,

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but it was as a contribution to English Literature that Doughty wrote his "Travels in Arabia Deserta". He certainly wanted to be remembered not as an Arabist, but as a great English man of letters. And as soon as his great prose work was published, there started very slowly but nevertheless surely a current of critical opinion that recognized in it the major work of art that it was. For many connoisseurs of literature, Doughty suddenly became a great prose-writer. "Arabia Deserta" was put in a niche by itself, and every day added to the number of its admirers. Even today it is the most famous of Doughty's literary works.

Then when Doughty went on to dedicate his literary energies not to prose, but to poetry, and write and publish his colossal epic, his admirers were divided into two camps. For some, and these were certainly the majority of his readers, Doughty was a man who had one great living adventure, which he, in a tour de force, expressed in one great book of prose, after which he spent the long years of his long life as a recluse, cut away from life, writing what was to most of them a huge body of unintelligible and unimportant poetry. To them Doughty was a great prose-writer and a second-rate poet. Thus most of their effort was directed towards the elucidation of the wonders of "Arabia Deserta". A cursory look at the critical writings on Doughty's works would show how great the critical output on "Arabia Deserta" is, and how very much more it is than all the critical works on all Doughty's other books combined.

Yet Doughty himself, though certainly proud of his achievement in "Arabia Deserta", and apparently happy at the almost universal recognition of his qualities as a traveller, as an explorer, as an archaeologist, a

geologist, a geographer and as a prose-writer, considered himself first and foremost as a 'Poet'. His chosen idol was always the 'Muse of Poetry'. Prose, like geography, geology and exploration, was secondary to the all-consuming fire of 'Patriotic Verse'.

Thus it also is to the 'chosen few' who know his life and work. Those would agree to the greatness of Doughty's prose-work but they would draw attention to the fact that its greatness lies particularly in the 'poetic' conception and qualities of the book. These poetic qualities, for them, point towards, and become mature in, his great epic. Doughty is mainly a poet and the great achievement of his life is "The Dawn in Britain". His reputation should rest mainly on his achievement as a poet. That is why those who know all his work, aspire hard to reconcile a wider public to the excellences of Doughty's poetry.

The first serious work, and certainly a locus classicus in Doughty's criticism, was the book written by Professor Barker Fairley. Professor Fairley has made his position abundantly clear in countless writings, and he is certainly the leading Doughty apologist of the day. Sometimes, the over-ambitiousness of his attempts will be criticised in this thesis, but no one can deny the debt of all Doughty's readers to Fairley's work. Next comes Miss Anne Treneer, whose book follows the lines drawn by Professor Fairley and adds to them her own full study of the 'vocabulary', the 'words' in all Doughty's works. Third comes Mrs. Ruth Robbins, whose introduction to the centenary edition of "The Dawn in Britain", shows her unmatched familiarity with Doughty's turns of mind, and poetic technique, and whose expected work on the 'Notes'

end on the Epic, should add greatly to our knowledge and appreciation of Doughty's Poetry.

To these one must add the two very important contributions of W. Taylor and A. McCormick. The first wrote a full study of the style of the "Arabia" with a stress on the Arabic influences on it. The second wrote a thesis on the development of the style of the same book with a stress on the English side of it, and on what she considers the Hebraic influences on its sentence-structure. But although I have used all these sources, and more, this present thesis follows the lead of Fairley, Treneer and Robbins in stressing the over-all unity of Doughty's literary output.

At the beginning, with my background in Arabic languages and literature, I thought I should concentrate on "Arabia Deserta" and the Arabic influences on its style. But then Taylor did that and McCormick wrote a thesis on its style. Then I thought I should concentrate on Doughty's main work, his epic "The Dawn in Britain" which indeed is worthy of the effort, and has not been studied fully yet, but I discovered that Mrs. Robbins, an abler Doughty critic than myself, was working on that, and had the sole access to the "Word-Notes" on the epic, without which a study cannot be but tentative and incomplete.

The only major source till now, of our knowledge of Doughty's life was the official biography written by Hogarth. But Hogarth, being an Arabist and an Orientalist more than a man of letters was more interested

naturally in the author of "Arabia Deserta". Thus he puts on the two Arabian years and the travels, for example, an emphasis incomparably greater than that on Doughty's long years of study at Cambridge and Oxford. But these early years in my opinion were much more important in making Doughty and his works than all the later years of travel or writing. So in Part I we have a new look at Doughty's background and early development. Chapter I gives a full study of the geographical, historical and natural aspects of East Anglia, where Doughty's roots were; and then follows the artistocratic origins of his family, and the changes in its fortunes before and after his birth; and studies the effect of all that on the early years and development of our post. Fortunately, the discovery of a list of all the property of the Doughty family kept in Theberton Hall, and sold by auction at the death of Doughty's father, and used here for the first time, enabled us to have a fuller understanding of the kind of life Doughty has known in his childhood. Thus Doughty's life story unfolds itself in front of us from childhood at home to school and university, and each period is minutely studied, and the various forces influencing his life and thought are enumerated. The trend of his life itself is shown till the time he decides to go on his travels in Europe. The part of the auctioneer's book which contains the list of books at Theberton Hall is so important as to justify its inclusion here as an appendix to this thesis.

In Chapter II, that list provides the earliest foundation for a new discussion of Doughty's interest in literature and language. It makes it possible to maintain that Doughty's literary studies started at the earliest period of his life. In corroboration, a poem written by Doughty when he was still an undergraduate at Downing College is used here, again for the first time in any study on Doughty. That is why the poem is also given in full at the end of this thesis. This unknown relic of Doughty's young days coupled with the prose article he wrote on the Norwegian glaciers, helps us to discuss the early trends of Doughty's thought and style in prose and poetry, and to follow the changes in his literary conceptions. His attitude towards Victorian language and literature and his aversion to it are explained, and the possible reasons for it dealt with. Then a full study of his deliberate studies in literature and language in Cambridge and Oxford, and later in Europe, concludes our second chapter. Every period and every author and book referred to or hinted at by Doughty is mentioned, and here his 'Word-Notes' are scrutinized for all the possible information on the subject. As a result, the field of studies in Doughty's sources widens considerably. If one definite contribution of this thesis to Doughty's studies stands out, it is certainly the study of his sources. Thus the influences working in his mind and moulding his works become clearer and more definite. And the over-all image enables us to pass judgement on the way the various writers on Doughty treated his works. The partiality of Hogarth's treatment, where "Arabia Deserta" looms so large as to drown everything else

becomes apparent. The great efforts of W. Taylor and A. McCormick in elucidating the style of "Arabia Deserta" are shown to miss the wood for the trees. The study of Doughty's general sources proves that Doughty himself was right in considering the 'Arabia' secondary for his plan and purposes, to"The Dawn in Britain" and his other poetical works. This panoramic view, agreeing in general with the over-all opinions of Fairley and Treneer, emerges clearly at the end of the second chapter.

Then follow the application of the emerging pattern on each of his works by itself. The aim is not a full study of each work from every point of view, although that is tried whenever it is possible, but each work is taken as a chance to deal fully with <u>one particular side</u> of Doughty's work. Each occupies its place in a pattern and a plan, and in each case the effort of the earlier critics is both acknowledged and sifted.

Professor Barker Fairley's work and Miss Anne Treneer's book are given their due consideration as worthy eye-openers to the beauties of a worthy author. Annette McCormick's elucidation of the language and style of "Arabia Deserta", and the excellent essay of W. Taylor on the style of Doughty's prose work, are both incorporated and commented upon, and new material added to the study of the great classic in Part II of this thesis. "Arabia Deserta" is by far the most famous, and consequently the best studied of Doughty's works. One could not hope to add much to the elucidation of its prose style, done so well by both W. Taylor and A. McCormick. But Doughty's point of view vis-a-vis Arabia and Islam, and the background of his

knowledge of Islam and the Moslems, were not touched upon by both writers, nor treated fully by other commentators. So this thesis tries to fill in Chapter IV the gap felt there, and provides a study of "Arabia Deserta", as a product of European and Christian thought from the earliest times to the 19th century. The 'Travels' and its author are treated as one part in a long chain of European writings on Islam and Arabia. This part in Doughty is the most personal, and consequently the most uninhibited and vigorous of all his work. The writer of this thesis who stands on the other side of the fence, has of course felt a repugnance of Doughty's writings on this score, but has tried, as far as humanly possible, to give an objective unemotional study of this side of Doughty's work. To what degree he has succeeded it is not for him to judge.

Another very important contribution again in Chapter IV is a full study of Doughty's knowledge of Arabic language and literature. Doughty's contributions to Arabic studies of Nejd dialects are acknowledged, but his knowledge of Arabic in general is questioned. Mistakes in Arabic words, phrases and clauses in the "Arabia Deserta" are shown as proofs of Doughty's limited range in Arabic. What the writer of this thesis hopes to be the last judgement is given here on the influence of Arabic on Doughty's English style.

Part III deals with Doughty's great epic and his beautiful Idyll. The chapter on "The Dawn in Britain" - Chapter Five - should have been the longest chapter. The thesis makes it clear that the epic must be treated as

the climax of Doughty's literary efforts, but one handicap made a full study of the epic impossible here. The study of any literary work written by Doughty must depend in the last resort on the 'Word-Notes', the jottings of words, phrases and clauses by the author in the process of preparation. In the case of the other works, I was able to consult them. But the 'Word-notes' of "The Dawn in Britain" are reserved for the usage of Mrs. Robbins who is working on them now. Thus any attempt to elucidate the poem must be a tentative attempt, to be superceded later by her promised work. Nevertheless Doughty's ideas on the Epic are discussed, his aims and ways explained, and new light shed on "The Dawn in Britain".

Chapter Six deals with "Adam Cast Forth", and it was the intention at the beginning to use the pastoral and lyrical qualities of this beautiful Idyll to discuss the pastoral and lyrical sides of Doughty. But the temptation became greator and irrisistible to trace the sources of the Semitic legend. The relative importance of the Arabic and Hebraic sources, and the way Doughty's mind works in mixing them to make the story we have, are discussed. Our findings in this extensive study of the sources are meant as an example, and indeed tend, in the case of the Arabic sources, to corroborate the judgement passed on Doughty's Arabic knowledge in the Chapter on "Arabia Deserta" (Chapter Four).

Part IV deals with the 'Prophetic Books'. Chapter 7 deals with "The Cliffs", where the poet tries for the first time to tackle the problems of his own day and age. Thus a study of Doughty's relationship with and knowledge of the affairs of his age is made first. Secondly the fact that two parts out of the five parts which make "The Cliffs" are 'elvish' poetry, gives us the opportunity of dealing briefly with Doughty's wonderful poetry on fairies and elves, and its links with Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century Fairy Poetry. Then follows Chapter 8, where Doughty's attempts in "The Clouds" to meet the general criticism of the 'form' of his works gives us the chance of a general discussion of the meaning of 'form' in Doughty's works.

Part V deals with the last years of Doughty's life. Chapter 9 is on "The Titans", and here the sources of the story are discussed first. "The Titans" is Doughty's nearest poem to the world of his geological studies. Thus the opportunity is used to study the meaning of science in the world of Doughty, and the ways in which his scientific knowledge is used to benefit man. Then follows Chapter Ten, the subject of which is Doughty's last published poem 'Mansoul'. The first part of this deals in particular with Doughty's belief in the sacredness of poetry and the doctrine of the inspired poet. That leads to the discussion of the 'message' which Doughty felt compelled to convey to his age, and the way in which he tried to convey it. Then the thesis is concluded by a word of explanation and apology for the great length of the thesis.

In a long thesis like this, some points necessarily tend to repeat themselves and to pop up in different parts of it. But the use made of them in each case is different, and the light shed on them is new. Doughty's Religion is an example. In Chapter I, the discussion includes his early actions and reactions at home, and in college, and the influence of the ideas of the age and the impact of his extensive readings on his religious ideas. Again his religion is dealt with in Chapter Three, where his attitudes in Arabia as a champion of Christianity and his attacks on Islam are discussed. At last his religion is dealt with as an indetachable part on his over-all message in 'Mansoul' (Chapter Ten). Another point is the texture of his prose style, and the diction of his poetry. This thesis does not concern itself mainly with Doughty's style and poetic diction, but it cannot avoid dipping here and there into the rich world of his works and elucidating a passage here and a stanza there. It is impossible in an extensive general study to stick to one limited side. Yet we hope that a new light, particularly on Doughty's sources, is added here to the efforts of previous critics of Doughty's work.

To all those critics who wrote before me ~~is~~ my indebtedness is clear. Even where I have objected to their ideas here and there, my debt cannot be denied; they at least provide a stimulus. I have known most of them only through their writings, but one I have had the pleasure to meet. Mrs. Ruth Robbins is, among Doughty's admirers, the one who knows most about his life and art, and I gladly acknowledge here her kindness and help. It was not always

easy sailing when I was struggling to find my way through the huge body of Doughty's manuscripts in Cambridge, but the kindness of many people there made it easier. Mr. Grierson, of Caius and Gonville College, must be thanked for the permission to look into the manuscripts, and for the arrangements he kindly made for me there. Mr. Christopher Brooke, formerly of Caius College, kindlylent me his rooms at the College. At Downing College, Mr. W. Cuttle, the Librarian, was the spirit of courtsey and kindness. At the Fitzwilliam Museum Library, the Note-books of the Arabian Journey were put at my disposal. At the British Museum Library in London, the earliest manuscript of Doughty's epic was lent to me. In London again, the Secretary of the Royal Geographical Society was so kind as to search through the files for Doughty's correspondence for me. To the authorities of these various institutions, and to all those who helped me kindly, I have nothing here but words to show my gratitude.

In Glasgow my thanks are due to Professor Peter Alexander for his constant encouragement; to Mr. F.F.F. Bishop, formerly lecturer in the University for his kindness and help and his readiness to understand and forgive one's human weaknesses; to Dr. J.S. Trimmingham for his readiness always to give a helping hand. But last but not least, I must thank Mr. Edwin Morgan, lecturer in the University, without whose help and criticism and guidance this work would have never been completed.

M.A. KADDAL.

I

The writer of this thesis believes neither in the truth nor in the accuracy of the practice, in which many writers and critics indulge, of summing up the life of a certain author, or the characteristics of a given period, in one all-inclusive epithet or label, with which every detail or particle concerned with that author or period is thence inescapably ~~matched~~. That perhaps might help in a short review or a bird's eye-view, but it would certainly be damaging in an extensive study like this. Professor Ray[1], in writing about the history of the Forties and the Fifties of the Nineteenth Century calls it the "Age of Wisdom". A reviewer criticising him calls the same period the "Age of Prosperity", which in his opinion lacked "Wisdom". You can easily and justifiably draw attention to the plight of the labour workers in the new industries of the period and thus in turn, refute the label of "Prosperity". Thus it would go on. The best thing to do is to state here and now that because this study is of one single author, it is right and wise to single out, discuss and apply only the particular aspects of that complex and tumultuous age; the aspects which had their effect in directing Doughty's life, and moulding his character. It is not our intention to give a complete interpretation of the Age, or to assess its values and ideals, or to pass judgement on its achievements. Doughty, though undoubtedly the product of his age, was hardly in the centre of the whirlpool. Nor was he a typical representative of its qualities and its problems. He did not choose as his main occupation its politics, or its economics. Neither did he occupy himself with the overwhelming social upheavals of the period, nor with the philosophical doubts that rent apart the best minds of that age. He is of it no doubt, and this thesis hopes to discuss his Nineteenth Century beginnings, and for the first time bring him back from the label of "archaism" stuck on him by most critics of his works, to relate him to the England of his time.

(1) See his book on "Thackeray".

But it is meet that we should know the limitations of his work, and follow the charted course of his life. For Doughty was born in 1843, the same year when Henry James was born, three years after Hardy, and one year before G.M. Hopkins and Robert Bridges. Yet any one of these, even Hopkins, is looked upon now as being nearer the centre of Victorian life and literature than Doughty is. In each of these, critics seem to find typical Victorian problems and solutions, but Doughty seems to them far away from the general run of his contemporaries, and their problems. Doughty seems to escape the fundamental changes that altered the face of England, and the pattern of English life in the Nineteenth Century. Now it is true that in reading Doughty one is bound to feel that he was on the other side of the tide. The world which he exposes seems to be of an England which does not exist there now, except as a background, an England of the earlier ages, not the England of the Industrial Revolution and after. But Doughty is nevertheless not far away from his England, the England he knew in his childhood and youth. For Doughty's ancestry is immersed in the county of Suffolk. There he was born and there he spent most of his childhood. London, Paris, Rome, Berlin and Vienna occur and recur as temporary places of residence or simply as stops in the course of his studies and travels, but never had any of these been the centre of his life. He was no inhabitant of the great metropolis of the modern scientific and industrial age. Thus his life and consequently his literary works side-stepped the complexities of modern Industrialism as much as the new great Northern Road leaves aside the rivers and sand dunes of his native Suffolk. Suffolk, with the sister county of Norfolk, was always a world in itself. In most respects they always had the characteristics of outskirts, geographically, historically and culturally; as if the old kingdom of East Anglia, hemmed in by the estuary of the fen rivers from the North, by the Stour from the South, by the fens in the West, and by the German Ocean from the East, was still in reality, if not

in outward fact, leading a life, in many ways, independent of the rest of the country. While the rest of England, for instance, was caught in the turmoil of civil wars, East Anglia remained in comparative peace. In the Nineteenth Century this characteristic "outakirtness" became more and more apparent. For Suffolk hardly shared in the tremendous industrial and economic expansion of England in the reign of Queen Victoria. Only at the very beginning of the reign, round about 1837, during the brief spell of prosperity called sometimes the "Golden Age of British Farming", Suffolk farmers seem to have had it good. The Rev. C.M. Doughty, Doughty's father, was, for instance, able to add to his property Fordley Manor, on the death of its owner, a Mr. John Woods of Durham in 1833(1). But that was a temporary spell, and not at all in the new line of industrial development. The black new world of coal and steam, the dismal life of women and children in the dark mines, the social upheavals of the new industrial mushroom cities, were all unknown to the hardy peasants, and the benevolent squires of high and low Suffolk. If they felt the change, they did so because it affected their life in an adverse way, in two different but related spheres. Politically Suffolk had lost, and not gained, a number of its representatives in Parliament. Economically the wealth from the traditional trade of Suffolk, was passing away. The cloth trade which made it rich across the centuries, from the time it was introduced by the Lowland immigrants in the reigns of Henry III and Edward I, was at last giving way to the modern industrial centres of the Midlands and the North. People started to emigrate(2) to other more fruitful parts of the country. Instead of gaining more industries in the new Industrial Age, Suffolk was fast losing its traditional industries, to become a granary for the rest of England. Whatever was happening in Suffolk when Doughty was born there, it was not in any sense new or modern.

(1) Suckling's "History and Antiquities of Suffolk", volume II, page 315.

(2) "The Victoria History of the Counties of England: Suffolk." London: 1911. See the chart in notes at foot of following page.

Thus it is to the permanent features of life in Suffolk that we must first refer and not to the changes in the Nineteenth Century. For this is a county steeped in history. Everywhere around the spot where Boughty was born, layers of archaeological interest in their successive chronology remain one of the long and varied aspects of the history of this part of England. This was the easternmost tip of the English Coast, facing the coasts of Flanders and Holland. This was the point of disembarkation for various invaders of England. Celts, Romans, Anglo-Saxons, Danes and Normans all have been here and all have left some of their traces in the soil of Suffolk. This was the district inhabited by the Iceni, the British tribe, which after first submitting to the Roman forces of Aulus Plautius, erupted in one of the bloodiest revolutions against the foreign invader under the famous Queen Boadicea(2). Here also came the Teutonic invaders who later on established the Kingdom of East Anglia. Here did Christianity find some of its earliest and most important centres(3). This was also an important part of the newly conquered realm of William the Conqueror. Thetberton where Boughty was born was called 'Thewardetuna' in the Domesday Book. Here were established colonies of Flemish immigrants in the reigns of Henry III and Edward I, as clothiers and woollen manufacturers. Here also were felt the burning effects of the English reformation, for the famous Puritan iconoclast William Dowsing, whose terrible part in the destruction in 1643 of the various establishments of Catholic England is well known, was himself a Suffolk man. In the Catholic reaction under Mary, Suffolk again suffered and contributed no less than 36 martyrs, and in the

(1) Contd. from previous page. The population of Thetberton declined thus:

1851 - 591
1861 - 541
1871 - 526 before rising again.

(2) V. "The Dawn in Britain".

(3) e.g. Bury-St. Edmunds, Norwich and Dunwich.

stabilising efforts of Queen Elizabeth's reign East Anglia had its share, for Parker, the future Archbishop of Canterbury, was born in Norwich. The fear of the Spanish Invasion reverberated across Kent and Essex as well as Suffolk and Norfolk, and the new national zeal burned in the hearts of the people here as much as in London. Similar emotions led Suffolk and Norfolk, to be associated with the forces of Parliament against Charles I, and thus gain comparative peace during the civil war. But later in the reign of Charles II, these eastern counties were the parts of England most exposed to the attacks of the Dutch Navy, and duly defended by the British Navy, under the Duke of York. Then they enjoyed a long spell of tranquil isolation till the menacing days of Napoleon's preparations to invade Britain. Stories of England's readiness for that effort of life or death were still very much alive in the minds of men in Suffolk when Doughty was born in 1843. And when he was yet a young man, these fears and apprehensions, and that readiness to die in the cause of the Fatherland, were again kindled in the hearts of people, when the petty emperor that bore the name of the great Buonaparte, tried to emulate him.

But history is not only the record of events from age to age. It is also the historical sights which remain a living memory of what had happened in the past, and Suffolk is one of the richest counties of England in its antiquities and historical remains. In the gravel-pits at Hoxne and various other places in the valley of the Waveny, there are found truly primeval remains: rude flint weapons of the usual types, of which Doughty made a study in his young days. In different parts of Suffolk there are numerous barrows and tumuli, which must have been the sources of their equivalents in Doughty's epic. On and around the lofty mounds, which are
X partly natural and sometimes artificial, there exist remains of strongholds belonging to the earliest times. The foundations are possibly British; and then the Romans built on them, then later the English and the Normans used them[1]. Roman remains still exist at Walton, at Dunwich and the

(1) See Harrod's "Castles and Convents".

famous Burgh Castle. The Saxons left slight remains of their castles at Dunwich and Framlingham and various other places. And when Christianity arrived in the Seventh Century, it gave East Anglia its first martyrs, St. Felix, whose remains are said to have been removed because of the pagan incursions of the Danes, and St. Edmund, who was martyred fighting against the Danish Invasion. And when the Normans became the lords of England, Suffolk was for a long time the leading county in England; it had a church for every fifty inhabitants(1). Three hundred and ninety eight churches in Suffolk are mentioned in the Domesday Book. Even in the Nineteenth Century Suffolk churches still showed the magnificence of their past. In the round towers, in the richly decorated fonts, in the elaborate and magnificent woodwork in the roofs and the wood-screens and the bench ends, Suffolk churches were living memories of a glorious past. Peculiar to them was the combination of flint and stone, forming what is called their "flush-work"(2). St. Peter's Church, in Theberton, where Doughty's father was rector, was itself a living example, for some of the windows were unmistakably Norman. Norman work could also be seen on the Northern and the Southern sides of the chancel. The priest's door on the Southern side was Fourteenth Century. The Southern aisle was rebuilt by Doughty's father in 1848, but the porch dated from c.1470. The pulpit was also late Fifteenth Century and the registers of the Church were kept from 1548(3). Enough then to show that history was very much alive in and about the childhood of Doughty, and that the place it occupies in his life and work is thus easily understandable.

But Suffolk provides more than a historical and archaeological background; for it was a great field of geological research also, and Doughty in the ramblings of his young days added to his interests in history and archaeology a keen interest in geology. This meant a wider field of interest than man, his history and his society. It meant an additional interest in the earth on which Man lives, and instead of going backwards to

(1) T.H. Bryant: "County Churches: Suffolk". Volume I, page 5.
(2) Murray's "Handbook for Essex, Suffolk, Norfolk and Cambridge". 2nd edition pae xxxvii
(3) Bryant's "County Churches: Suffolk", Volume II, pages 81-82.

the beginnings of human history only it meant tracin it back beyond hu an life, into remote ages of existence, a span of time where the whole history of Man becomes a tiny part, and the life of the individual human being becomes only a pas ing moment. Earth with its various manifestations of sea and rock and sand becomes alive and looms larger than life. Geography and geology in oughty then are not scientific subjects studied only in school or college, but living interests wrapped up into his beginnin s in his native soil of Suffolk(1).

Suffolk was also the source of many a piece of natural scenery in oughty's work. In Arabia he would remember the flint of his native Suffolk(2), and the sand-dunes of its eastern coast. Suffolk is not all of it green or woodlnnd. The coast is sandy, and some of the hills are barren. Some of its scenes are decidedly not beautiful(3). And some of its valleys are of a softer and more pastoral character, "a sweet and civil ountr " says Bishop Hall. The charm and the character of the softer features of the landscape are faithfully and beautifully reproduced in many of the famous paintings of Constable who was himself a Suffolk man. The wooded banks of the Orwell, some of the most beautiful scenery in England are reproduced in the works of Gainsborough, and Turner. Not only artists, but anglers also find in Suffolk what they need, for all its rivers abound in fish(4).

(1) Doughty's sense of history shows mainly in "The awn in Britain" and in "The Prophetic Books". His geology shows mainly in "The Titans".
(2) e.g. A.D., I, p.28, 29.
(3) Fitzgerald describes Woodbridge in a letter to Frederick Tennyson in 1844: "one of the ugliest and dullest places in England." Doughty spent much of his youth at Martlesham near Woodbridge.
(4) V. Angling in "The Clouds" pp. 53-8.

History, archaeology, geography and geology and natural scenery in Suffolk must then all be in the mind when one comes to deal with these aspects in the works of Doughty. He, as a poet and a writer, could hardly have escaped the effects of all these important factors in his own home county. Yet perhaps the most effective aspect in Suffolk was the array of famous men in the world of thought and letters, whose beginnings were here in the East Anglian soil. Near by was Lydgate, which gave its name to the famous Fifteenth Century poet, the monk of Bury and one of the important influences on Doughty. Framling contains the tomb of the poet "Surrey". Bale was an East Anglian. Archbisho Parker and Sir Robert Walpole were sons of the city of Norwich and Sir Thomas Browne was linked with it. Nearer to Doughty's time and birthplace was the poet Crabbe, who immortalised Aldeburgh in his "Borough" and "Parish Register". Nearer still was Edward FitzGerald who spent a great part of his life at Woodbridge, when Doughty as a young boy was a frequent visitor to the neighbouring village of Martlesham. Thus it is clear that there was enough for the eye in the scenic beauty of the Suffolk landscape, enough for the ear in the natural music of the atmosphere, enough for the thought in the history, archaeology and geology, and enough for the throbbing heart of an emotionally underfed but sensitive and intelligent orphan, in the Suffolk surroundings of his early years. That the young Doughty was more than intelligent and sensitive we need not doubt. It is indeed possible that even his later reserve and reticence were due to a delicate sensibility, of which the Suffolk background provided the wider frame. The inner frame is that of his family background and childhood circle.

Hogarth much stresses the aristocratic origins of Doughty's family. "On both sides", he says, "he came of gentry, who for generations had owned wide lands."(1) Writing about his father's side, Hogarth tells us of "traditions of a typical home-keeping squirearchy, proud of race and class, equating loyalty and patriotism with acceptance of the existing order, and taking piety and morality for granted."(2) On Doughty's mother's side, the Hothams had "a tradition of adventuring and in particular, of adventuring by sea; and no influence acted more powerfully on the childhood of both her sons than the enthusiasm of the Hothams for naval service."(3) Hogarth thus, certainly under the influence of Doughty's own words, ~~reiterated invariably by Mrs. Doughty~~(4), explains the early decision of preparing Doughty for the Navy by his mother's family traditions. But his mother died when her weakling baby was only a few months old, and it is impossible that he could have sucked the traditions of her family so early. Hogarth seems to have realized the difficulty, for he refers to the influence of her sister, who was certainly a great favourite of Doughty, later on.

Doughty's mother's sudden death must have brought the prospects of a stable conventional 'homely' life so soon to an end. The squire-father was left with a tremendous problem. What were his reactions? What did he do to solve his problems? What kind of character was he anyway? The official biography of Hogarth does not give any answer and we were not able to discover anything new. There is no mention of him in any of the recorded reminiscences of Doughty in later life, and Mrs. Doughty seems to have conveyed nothing about him to Hogarth. She met her husband only a few years after he came out of Arabia, and all

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(1) Hogarth: Page 1.
(2) Hogarth: Page 2.
(3) Hogarth: Page 2.
(4) Hogarth: Page 3.

her knowledge of his early life was derived from bits of information
X dropped by the poet himself in various unrecorded occasions. Our
only real source until now is Doughty himself, and the poet seems to
have been always most reticent to speak about himself. Although
X there is no reason to doubt the truth of facts thus brought to
light, one suspects a kind of conspiracy of discretion not to probe
into the complexities of these least known years of Doughty's life.
There are certainly gaps which need to be filled, and facts not
mentioned by Hogarth, which must be related, to have a fuller picture
of the earliest period of Doughty's life. For Doughty was a life-
long enemy to pathos, and the small degree of pathetic feeling which
is in everyone of us, was exhausted and dissipated in Doughty's case
X on the half-creation, half-self-dramatization of the character of
'Khalil' in 'Arabia Deserta'. It is thus understandable that Doughty
would not say a word about his family's difficulties and problems when
X his mother died.[3] Of the bits of information we have, we know that the
father must have been a man of wide knowledge and culture, for Hogarth
tells us that in his time, he made the Grand Tour, and that he added
an Italian wing to Theberton Hall, and commissioned "Italian workmen to
prepare the Theberton drawing-room against his bride's homecoming".(1)
A picture also of the splendour of this priestly Squire's life could be
drawn by looking into the list of his possessions at Theberton Hall,
which on some unfortunate occasion was recorded, and fortunately for
us is still preserved in the British Museum Library.(2) In the same
source we have a long list of all the books which were in the library
at Theberton Hall when he died. The diversity of subjects and the
variety of the books prove him a man of wide cultural interests. An

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(1) Hogarth: P.2.
(2) See 'Appendix I'.

authentic copy of the list of books in this treasure, near the magnetic pull of which the young Doughty spent his early years, is included as an Appendix to this thesis. For the first time, the field of Doughty's sources is widened beyond the list of Doughty's readings in Oxford provided by Hogarth, and the internal evidence in the author's works. We cannot be sure, but we can assume, that at such an early age Doughty was conscious of the value of, or even able to benefit from, all or most of the books in the list. Still, one cannot belittle the importance of this new discovery. That is why the books are discussed later on, when his early literary interests are discussed. It is sufficient here to establish that Doughty was born and spent his earliest years, in a house, not only of aristocratic traditions, but also of culture. We can thus just discern the outlines of the character of Doughty's father, as a prosperous country gentleman with a background of culture, wealth and high social standing. About the particular qualities which would make of him a successful or an unsuccessful father and which would certainly have a tremendous psychological impact on his two orphan sons in their most formative years, we know practically nothing. Neither do we know of the part he must have played in influencing his great son and moulding his character. He died in 1850, when his younger son was barely seven years old. Father and mother were now dead, and the prospects of a stable 'homely' life were farther away than ever. From Theberton Hall the children were removed to the care of their new guardian, their uncle Frederick Goodwin Doughty of Hartlesham, Suffolk. The boy who had lost his father and mother so young, comes now under the care of this uncle and his maternal aunt, Miss Hotham, whom we have mentioned before. Now Miss Hotham's brother, Doughty's mother's brother, Sir Charles Hotham, the 'colonial governor' mentioned by Hogarth[1], was earlier on a captain

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(1) Hogarth: Page 1.

of the Navy. His uncle and guardian himself was married to a daughter of Rear-Admiral Sir Charles Cunningham, of Eye in Suffolk. With all these naval connections around, it was only natural that the Navy would be chosen as his future vocation. Thus it was decided to send him to a school to prepare him for the Navy. In 1850-1, he was at his first school at Laleham on Thames side, from where he was soon removed on to Flatree School, and then finally he was placed, sometime before 1856, at Peach House, Southsea, for the last touches in his preparation before proceeding to the examination. But in that year, 1856, he failed in the examination, and his way to the Navy was finally blocked. Here there is a curious tangle, for the reason of his failure is not clearly defined. It is said that he failed in the 'medical test'. What generally would be understood from that, is that he was not thought strong enough to bear the hazards of life in the Navy. Doughty himself refers to his being 'not sufficiently robust enough'; and the earlier story of Doughty being baptized at birth, because he was thought too weak to live, fits in. But again the failure in that examination is referred to as being the result of an 'impediment in speech'.(1) Now, it is always tempting for a critic or a research student to exploit such a precious opportunity to provide a psychological explanation for the subsequent interest and the later excellence of the poet in the world of language and literature. It is easy to maintain then that Doughty with his usual scrupulousness and singleness of mind had started so early to rid himself of that defect in speech, and succeeded so completely that there were no traces left of that defect in him later in life. It is even possible to speculate that his long and varied word-notes might have been started as a part of this process. Yet in the absence of any other corroborating evidence, I tend to explain his

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(1) Hogarth: Page 3.

failure on mere physical reasons, which had nothing to do with speech. For even before the examination we have the testimony of his teacher at Beach House, who wrote to his aunt that he was the "very best boy"[1] they had. Doughty's later tendency to stand and stay aloof, should be attributed more to his shyness than to an impediment of speech, for the last could have made difficult, if not impossible, his prospects of travelling into other lands and mixing with other peoples, conversing with them in their various tongues.

After the failure to be admitted to the Navy, Doughty was not withdrawn instantly, probably because the guardians were not yet able to decide upon the future of the orphan child. But in 1858, he was withdrawn from Beach House, and in the company of a private tutor, he seems to have travelled abroad, most probably in France.[2] These were very important years in the development of the young poet, yet we have no definite knowledge of them. They seem to be as impenetrable as his early childhood. Hogarth refers to the rambles of the young man among the valleys and dunes of Suffolk in his holidays, and refers the birth of his interest in geology to these rambles and these years. Yet we do not know who his tutor or tutors were, or where in England or in the Continent he went, or what subjects or books or authors or periods he was studying. Yet we know that at the end of the period, he was at King's College, London,[3] from which he was to migrate to Cambridge in 1861. And it is almost certain that between his failure in his Navy examination in his thirteenth year and his arrival at Cambridge in his eighteenth, the young orphan ward has somehow grown into an independent young man. It is certain that the choice of the Navy was somebody else's choice, but it is also certain that the choice of his subjects of study

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(1) Letter quoted by Hogarth: Page 3.

(2) Hogarth: Page 3.

(3) Venn, II, 355 and Addenda.

was his own, and in that he was certainly an innovator, if not exactly a rebel. But before we go to Doughty's Cambridge days, let us stop for a while to take stock of the situation, and discuss the implications of these early factors in the life of our future poet.

For here we have the second son of a prosperous country gentleman, who, as in the old traditional ways, was 'squire and priest'. Here is a member of a family of landed gentry born when the landed gentry as a class were fast losing their traditional grip on the destinies of England. The new world was no world for a small privileged class. The new radicalism in thought and politics, and the new Benthamite theories on 'the greatest happiness of the greatest number' coupled with laissez-faire and the new industries were driving even the Conservative Party itself to toe the line if it were to survive. The landed gentry as a class and as a power were doomed, and to this fading glory Doughty was born. Here he was to touch but never to taste, the glories of a wealthy aristocratic life he was not destined to live. For somehow the turn of the tide in the case of his own family seems to have occurred exactly at his birth. He was always to feel it in himself, in his heart and his blood, but he was not destined to live as an aristocrat. Five years before he was born his father was able to buy Fordley Manor and add it to his estates(1). Hogarth tells us of the new Italian suite added to Theberton Hall, when the Doughtys were married. There, life seems to have been the luxurious, easy life of wealthy aristocracy. There was the 'Blue Room', the 'Green Room', the 'Chintz Room' and the 'Morning Room'. There was the Hall, the Library, the Study and the Nursery. The mangle in the 'Mangle Room', was made by Lyon, maker to

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(1) Suckling: II, 315.

to the Royal Family. They had 'an excellent town-built chariot' and a 'light single-horse cab phaeton, with hood and german shutter'. There were engravings, paintings, alabaster busts and vases and books everywhere. They were living a comfortable life. And then the mother died when young Doughty was only seven months old. That was the beginning of the avalanche; for less than seven years later, Doughty's father also died, and the young children were left to the hazards of an orphan's childhood. Yet even before his death, sometime after his wife's death, the prosperous comfortable life seems to have come to an end, and his wealth dwindled if not disappeared. Hogarth mentions financial difficulties but he puts them later than Doughty's Cambridge period.(1) That is certainly not true. There is sure proof of financial difficulties at his father's death, for by the 'Order of the Executors of the late Rev. Charles Montague Doughty, Deceased' all the wealth accumulated within the walls of Theberton Hall, was sold by auction on Wednesday, 28th August, 1850 and the three following days.(2) Theberton Hall itself was to stay, but even there, Doughty was only the second son, and although he was never forced to earn his living,yet, he was never as wealthy or as comfortable as he was entitled to be by birth and background. Like Tennyson he always carried about the unsatisfied hopes of his class and family, but unlike Tennyson he had nobody, not a grandfather or an uncle to blame. Unlike Tennyson he had no home to recline emotionally on, and no particular relations to be tied to. If he had gone into the Navy, he might have found an outlet and a realization, a practical channel for his feelings, but he was not destined to settle down so early. The early years left in him the feeling of pride in race and class and country, but they left him to realize his dreams of serving his country almost anywhere, drifting freely to become the great rover and the perfect traveller later on. Because he had no home, no profession and no ties, because

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(1) Hogarth: Page 8

(2) Proceedings and list are in the British Museum Library.

the class to which he belonged was dying, it was possible for Doughty to hover above local emotions and tie his whole nature, intellectually, spiritually and emotionally, to an idealized, idolized image of Britain and the Anglo-Saxon race.

Now this refusal to be tied down, this notion of his freedom to roam and travel, and at the same time keep the traditions of race, class and family are the constant characteristics of Doughty all through his life, but they show themselves for the first time in his choice of College and studies. For there has always been a link between his family and the University of Cambridge. Some nine members of the Doughty family are listed in the 'Alumni Cantabrigienses',(1) being all descendants of the Rev. George Clarke Doughty of Martlesham in Suffolk, who was born in 1769, and who went up to Sydney Sussex in 1786, but migrated from there to Caius in 1788. His son Charles Montague also went to Caius in 1818. Thus the Doughty connection with Caius College was maintained for three generations.(2) Thus Charles Montague Doughty, the poet, was carrying on his family traditions when he was admitted as a pensioner at Caius College, Cambridge, on the 30th September, 1861, when he was eighteen years old. Yet in that first act of conscious toeing of the family line, he at the same time asserted his individuality and independence of mind in choosing the new line of Natural Science. We do not know if his uncle and guardian, with whose permission he had gone to Cambridge, offered any opposition to his choice, which was in these circumstances rather revolutionary. If his father had been alive, Doughty might have chosen Divinity, or might have studied Law, but now being free, as the first act of emancipation, he chose Geology.

The Doughty of these early days in Cambridge seems to have been serious-minded, independent and studious. Because he was shy and

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(1) Venn, Alumni Canthbrigienses, Part II, vol. ii, Page 323. Cambridge, 1944.

(2) Information kindly provided by Mr. W.L. Cuttle, Librarian of Downing College, Cambridge.

and because he would not mix, we do not know of any activities of his in the University.

There is nothing to show that Doughty joined in any of the social or political or religious activities of the University. He seems to have been only a member of the University Geological Club[1]. Attempts were made to drag him into the field of athletics, but he was too absorbed in pursuing his own studies of geology and geography, and in reading his chosen authors to bother about such trifles.[2] The poet, who was later to live in complete and perfect isolation, which to us must seem unnatural and artificial, had that in him from his earliest days. He would not affiliate himself with any group or movement or team or subordinate his judgement to any higher human authority.

Free from family bonds, free from parental tutelage, free from any discipline of, say, a public school or institution, Doughty developed an independence of character and singleness of mind, which persists all through his life and works. He was too much of a self-centred rebel to fit into any team or society, not because he could not abide by rules, but because he would never bend to anybody else's rules and behests. Khalil in "Arbbia Deserta" could not fit into the life of Nejd, not only because of his feeling of superiority, but also because he was by nature an individualist and a rebel. In Cambridge Doughty could not bear the mild rigours of life at Caius and Gonville College. If the choice of geology as his main subject of study, instead of the more traditional branches of theology and the humanities, was the first expression of

(1) The club is mentioned in the Cambridge University Calendar 1862-3-4-6.

(2) See "The Lay of the Long-One":

his rebellious nature/the second was the decision to leave Caius College, with its traditional link with the Doughty family, and emigrate to Downing College.

The University of Cambridge, like its sister University of Oxford, was then the scene of much collision and struggle of opinions in the fields of religion and science. To begin with, a spirit of intense preoccupation with matters of faith and belief, kindled by the Evangelical Movement, was very much alive. The Simeonites were still a power in the older Colleges of Caius, Trinity and St. John(1). These Colleges insisted not only on the regular attendance of lectures, but also on the regular presence of the students in Chapel. This was not only an insistence on the traditions of these Colleges, but also a fortification against the battering rams of the new Nineteenth Century doubts and hesitations. In studies, the stress was likewise on the classical and theological branches. The modern Natural Science studies were not, to say the least, encouraged. There were no science tutors among the dons at Caius. Downing College in contrast, was the most modern of the Cambridge Colleges, established as late as 1800. It had no link with, and could not insist on the traditions of a Mediaeval or a Renaissance past. It was thus the most liberal of the Colleges. Because it was itself a Nineteenth Century product, it reflected many sides of the spirit of the new age. With the freedom it gave to its students, it added its interest in the modern scientific attitude of the age. Its ordinances provided for two professors, one of whom was for the chair of Natural Science(2). Science seems to have been as respectable at Downing as Theology was in Caius and Gonville College.

(1) The best illustration is in Butler's "Way of All Flesh".

(2) The Cambridge University Calendar, 1863, is used.

Doughty had chosen geology, an age-old branch of science, but a scientific subject all the same. In the past geology went hand in hand with religion and there was nothing in it that religion could possibly frown at. If Doughty had arrived at Caius and Cambridge a little earlier, he might have been a little happier even with the choice of geology as his subject. But at that particular period, Geology and Religion seemed as if they were going to part company at last. Geology was the first and earliest branch of science to attack and challenge the traditional views of the Church. The new geological discoveries proved beyond doubt that the calculations of the Church about the age of creation in general, and life and man on earth in particular, were totally wrong. The Globe, and life on the globe, were millions of years older than the traditionalists believed.(1) The challenge was obviously directed against their understanding of the early chapters of Genesis. Other branches of science followed suit. At last came Darwin's "Origin of Species" in 1859, and the conflict between science and religion suddenly blazed up. They seemed then impossible to reconcile. It seemed to some that the very foundations of religion were being destroyed. The field was full of attacks, accusations and counter accusations of the extremists on both sides, of whom the most eminent were Bishop Samuel Wilberforce and Professor Thomas Huxley, and it seems to me that a part at least of Khalil's vehemence in attacking the religion of his guests (hosts) in Arabia could perhaps be traced back to the vehemence of these Nineteenth Century English controversies. Nowhere except in a brief reference of Mrs. R. Robbins, is Doughty's link with that commotion ever mentioned, and never fully realized or explored.

We have here the crucial years of Doughty's University career, central in Doughty's development, and dominating completely Doughty's

(1) See Lyall's "Principles of Geology (1830)". In Doughty's works the best example is of course "The Titans".

whole life-plan and his works. Here one cannot hide one's regret, that Hogarth, Doughty's official biographer, found it more important to put more stress on Doughty's two Arabian years, which seem in spite of their importance, so incidental in Doughty's story, when compared to these earlier Cambridge years. If the two Arabian years give us the contents and some of the style of "Arabia Deserta", plus a small number of episodes in the later poems, these early Cambridge years give us the whole of Doughty, his Arabian travels and book included. Doughty's whole attitude, emotional, intellectual, religious or literary, is based squarely on the experiences of these years, and the science-versus-religion controversy is central in those experiences.

If it were a conflict on only academic lines, a conflict which raged in his mind and did not touch his whole being, it would have been possible to ignore it. But Doughty's father was a priest, and his childhood must have been steeped in religion. Doughty's family and class, though waning as we said, were still organically fused with the beliefs of the Anglican Church. Doughty's vision of his fatherland and the English race was inseparably linked with Christianity. How could he stand aloof, at a time when the problems of science and religion were discussed by all?

For the danger to the Church was not an external danger only. More formidable was the danger from within. Instead of the controversies of an earlier generation between the Oxford Movement and the Evangelical Movement, the difference of which was not on the fundamentals of Religion itself, we had now, up above that, an attack on more important foundations, the foundations of Christianity. Wesley's followers attacked the complacency of the clergy, and the ways of the Church, and insisted on a sense of personal consciousness of sin and atonement, but

they relied in their attack on the Bible, as the one important authority. The followers of the Tractarians attacked the Anglican Church for its neglect of its Catholic foundations, and Catholic ritual and communion. Whatever their differences, they never questioned the authority of the Bible.

But now there blew a new wind from Germany, which in turn began to question the Holy Book itself, not the Old Testament part only, but the New Testament also. A group of German divines, later known as the "Tübingen School" (1835-47) prominent among whom was Baur, set to rewrite the early history of the Christian Church. Their new revoluntionary opinion was the theory of a conflict between St. Peter and St. Paul, the result of which in their belief was that most of the New Testament, believed to be written in the Second Century, was twisted and changed to conceal the facts of the conflict. Therefore, they would have none of the Acts and little of the rest of the New Testament. The historical value of the New Testament, and consequently the Christian Revelation itself was at stake, something completely different and much more grievous than the historical value of the early chapters of Genesis. The Church was fighting for its existence, and the heart of its resistance in England was Cambridge. The champions of Christianity and the vindicators of its truth were the Cambridge Professors Lightfoot, Westcott and Hort. The first two later became Bishops of Durham, but Cambridge, Roughty's University, seems to have been the centre of the whirlpool.

Nor was the commotion far away from the heart of the Anglican Church itself, for with the German winds, there blew also a Southern wind, which brought the slush into the middle of the Anglican fold. Bishop Colenso, of Natal in South Africa, himself a Cambridge student and fellow of St. John, began his famous editing of the Hebrew Scriptures in

the early eighteen sixties, and the result was a fierce attack on him by the traditionalists, and a decision to excommunicate and depose him taken on December 1863 by his ecclesiastical chief, Bishop Gray of Cape Town. The Church in England was suddenly divided into two warring factions, for and against Bishop Colenso. Some of them, with no less a dignitary than the Archbishop of York, refused to attend the first Lambeth Conference of 1867, because they thought that Archbishop Charles Thomas Longley of Canterbury had summoned it to uphold Bishop Gray's decision. Thus the Church from top to bottom was torn by factions, and leaders of public opinion were looked to for guidance, and the best solution seemed to be to find a middle way, to reconcile and bring together instead of following, the extreme sides of this tremendous conflict.

Nobody living at that age could have escaped the conflict. Some were frankly on the side of the new sciences, believing that religion was nothing but superstition, which the mind of man through logic and the power of science is bound to sweep aside. Some thought that science was the work of the devil, and doubt would end in blasphemy and disbelief. Some groped their way towards a compromise in which the moderate ideas of both sides could be brought together. In the intellectual world of the day both Mill and Spencer seemed to work for a compromise. We are indeed fortunate in having Professor Lankester's remark about Doughty reading Spencer to show us that our poet was as much occupied with the problem as anybody else. Herbert Spencer's synthetic 'philosophy' was a 'scientific' attempt towards the reconciliation of science and religion. In the literary world of the day Matthew Arnold was the best example. He and the like-minded liberals of the day, thought, under the influence of German inspiration, that they could follow Jesus, only as an ethical teacher, casting aside all the hazy childish clouds of legend, which the Medieval Church had woven around him, and which no intelligent

and educated man in the nineteenth century, in their opinion, was expected to believe. The supernatural and the metaphysical theories of Christianity were an expedient way taken by the Church only to impress and lead cruder men in earlier ages, but they were now unsuitable for an age of educated intelligent and progressive men who could understand and follow the Christian standards of morality without believing in the childish legends of Christianity.

Doughty was certainly influenced by the commotion. From his earliest work the 'Arabia', to his latest work 'Mansoul', the problem was paramount in his mind. That it was a problem we can hardly doubt. Both sides of the controversy were there in him. His religious upbringing could not be easily dispensed with, and his scientific studies and knowledge could not be easily suppressed, and the only possible way out was a compromise. In the 'Arabia' both sides of the controversy find their clearest expression in the direct discussion of religious issues with the Arabs, and in 'Mansoul', they find the reconciling compromise. The extremes in the 'Arabia' need no repitition. On one side, there is "the indestructible temple-building of science, wherein is truth", (Arabia Deserta, II, p.381). On the other side there is Khalil's tenacious insistence on his Christianity. On one side, there is contempt for irrational religiosity "Nations hold to their religions - that is true (in their countries) which everyman saith" and on the other side the completion of that sentence is "howbeit the verity of the things alleged cannot be made manifest on this side the gate of death" (Arabia Deserta, II, p.381). On one side you have the denial of truth in Islam, ". . . In such religious dotage, we perceive no aspect of the truth," (II, p. 377-8). On the other he belittles the religious aspect of life in Europe, "In the naturally corpulent and idolatrous Europe, man himself is divine" (Arabia Deserta, II, p.379). On one side there is an emphasis

on doubt that questions religion, so that he exclaims jubilantly, when an Arab questions Islamic assumptions, "the brotherly discourse and the integrity of Europe!" (II, p.381) and "who may certify us in these things (religion)? that are of faith, hope, authority, built on certain ground." (II, p.381).

It is clear that Doughty's mind in Cambridge has launched into formidable speculation. Geologists, engrossed in matter, are bound to be sceptical of more speculation and wonderings in abstraction. Thus a compromise which was to reconcile the religious faith of his childhood to his present belief in the power of science and reason to lead man and to clarify the various issues, became necessary. That compromise, in spite of Doughty's vehement attacks on Islam[1] was nearer the spirit of Islam than to the Christianity of his childhood. Doughty knew that Islam was more 'logical', more 'reasonable' than formal Christianity, at least in that it had no unexplainable 'mysteries' to be taken for granted and accepted on faith. How much more vehement his attacks on Christianity would have been, formal Christianity having these 'mysteries' and 'superstitions' not acceptable to the nineteenth century thinker, is shown not in the 'Arabia' but in the 'Notes'. The 'Arabia' was written for a Christian audience and Doughty was careful not to shock them. All the vehemence there goes against Islam and the Arabs. But in the Notes, that vehement side of his nature, apparent in his fierce attacks on Islam and the Arabs, shows itself nakedly against the accepted forms of Christianity in Europe. These parts of the 'Notes' were never used before, but the truth will out, and our picture of the poet must be complete. It is enough to quote briefly and pass gently, but the point must be made clearly. On religion in England he wrote in the Word-Notes

(1) Doughty's attacks on Islam are treated fully later in this thesis.

"The English is a German in his dreary religiosity hardly extinguish his germaine love of the debauch". And if that is mild stuff, then take this which is probably harder to swallow than all the vilifications of Islam in 'Arabia Deserta". ". . . I am to take a young man's pleasure to confuse the minds about the Messiah (and his own person) say to the Charis. how doth . . . the Spirit call . . . him lord and his son". The last reference to the 'nature' of Christ, has no doubt been part of his problem, and Doughty seems to have moved along the way from the Anglican (low Church) ways of his youth and family towards a more radical non-conformist way, which ended later in his denunciations (never made public in clear words, but always at the basis of his works) of all the formal denominations of Accepted Christianity, to become at the end a Unitarian, who believes in God, and believes in 'Jesus' only as the perfect man. God-the-Father is everywhere worshipped in his poems, but God-the-Son is hardly mentioned, and the Incarnation simply ignored. In "Arabia Deserta" for example, he writes, " . . . whenever we adore a Sovereign Unity, Father eternal of all Power and Life, Lord of the Visible and the Invisible, or (with shorter spiritual ken) bow the knees to the Manifold Divine Majesty in the earth and heavens" (Arabia Deserta, II, p.381). What is deplorable is not the expression of his anti-trinitarianism, or his readiness to argue, but his readiness 'to take pleasure to confuse the minds'.

That side of Doughty appears only in the 'ArAbia' vis-a-vis the Arabs. Yet Doughty's scepticism is clearly not destructive but only dissolvent. It is different from atheism and different on the other side even from the Tennysonian emotional doubt. As a result of it, the main stream of Christianity is discarded, but 'Religion' as manifested in the wide cloak of 'Unitarianism' is kept. So also was Science. For

extreme science is also rejected. Doughty had no flare or love for pure science or abstract thinking. He was not interested in any branch of science which interests itself in aspects of the material world, to isolate and dissect and analyse. His science was not that which started with Galileo and Kepler and Bacon and Hobbes, not the science which gave rise to the mechanistic view of nature or the atheism to which it led. In the 'Arabia' he refers to the "atheistical opinions of certain of last century philosophasters without leaven of Science". (Arabia Deserta, II, p. 372). His science had always a human side to it and a moral side. Reason, in him, accepted the existence of a large unexplored and unknown part which was the domain of religion and faith.

Within the wide cloak of Unitarianism where God above is God of all, and all men down below were under His wing, and could, each in his way strive towards Him, Doughty could refute the 'apparently' legendary, non-historical parts of the Old Testament, and attack Moses for his unbelievable story, attack David for his 'treachery' and fighting, attack Islam and Mohammed for starting a 'faction', attack Catholicism and the Pope, attack Puritanism in England. In the 'Arabia' he calls a man a 'Round-Head', and in the 'Notes' he speaks about the "the unenglish blasphemies of John Milton". And it becomes logical for him to say that Aristotle, Nebo, Confucius are all acceptable to him, and include them in 'Mansoul'. Within that wide cloak of Unitarianism again various branches of science are acceptable. Indeed, only the sciences which lead to disbelief, or wither in useless argumentation, have no place. Metaphysics have no place but moral philosophy has. Pure physics has no place but methodology seems to be included. Philosophy, science and matter, are all 'subdued to the service of Man'. Man indeed gains in stature: for Unitarianism, in making lawful all the human efforts of all creeds and all ages, and in stressing the human element vis-a-vis Heaven, has indeed gone

a long way, the longest possible way in reconciling Religion and Humanism. Thus Doughty in the Notes writes about "the catholical eternal religion of humanity", and adds, "with an attitude of reverence towards the unknown". All these elements find their fullest expression in Doughty's last 'message' in 'Mansoul'. Thes two Religion and humanism - are the two important pillars on which Doughty's world is built. But 'Humanism' in Doughty's world needs a study by itself, and its origin and the part it played in his development traced carefully.

It is in Cambridge that Doughty became aware of the wider issues of his country, andthe world of man around him, and began to realize the problems of life, and search for definite goals, and ways of reaching them. But of his readings at Cambridge, other than the scientific studies at the University, we know, as we said, next to nothing. His science and his readings in Herbert Spencer led us to discover the wide issue of science-versus-religion, which was a main problem of the day, and led us to discover Doughty's way of reconciling both sides. What leads us now to discover the rest of his preoccupations, lies in the direction his studies took after his Cambridge days. In London and Oxford, we find him busy reading. And we know at least a part of what he was reading in Oxford. Here for the first time, chackled by no authorities of college or tutor nor requirements of syllabus or examination, he was free to choose his period, his books and his authors, by his own free will. His Oxford studies tell clearly of the leanings in his mind which started indeed in Cambridge. In 1865 he left Cambridge, and in the summer of 1870, he left England for Holland. What Doughty gives as his reason for going to Holland, makes clear what his studies in that period were about. Hogarth's list of his readings in Oxford show that he concentrated on the language and literature of the late Medieval and the Renaissance periods in England - the period when both the nation and its language

emerged step by step from the early beginnings to the golden period of patriotism, of power, of literary masters and masterpieces in the reigns of Elizabeth and James. But language and literature will be dealt with later. Language and literature were not the only ends. It was clearly not the literary or linguistic sides that led him to go to Holland. He went there "in reverence to the memory of Erasmus and Josiah Scaliger."

This is indeed another lucky ray, like that of Professor Lankaster's remembrance of Doughty's readings in Herbert Spencer. It shows us that Doughty was studying the different phases of the 'Humanism' of the 15th and 16th centuries in Europe. While Doughty, the man of letters, was learning the methods of his art in that period, Doughty's thought was finding its ideal in the same early age. That was the period when the patriotism of his countrymen freed England from the Yoke of Catholic Rome, and the courage of Englishmen defended England against the covetous greed of Continental powers, and raised it to the status of a great power. That was the period when Man started to use his mental powers to dispel the clouds of Ignorance and Tyranny and began to assert his human personality. Erasmus was a key figure, and although he remained in the Catholic fold to the end, he it was who started to criticise, to scrutinise and use his mind. Though reading the ancients, he learned to stress the dignity andthe nobility of Man and his reason. Through the study of language and literature he prepared himself for his high vocation. And using his erudition, he started to translate and edit the Scriptures, and spread knowledge and civilisation. Erasmus was one of the earliest and greatest of humanists, and ~~ww~~ his influence on and with the English humanists in the period which Doughty was studying in Oxford, was great.

Scaliger was probably the greatest thinker in the years that followed Erasmus' days. And he went one step further than Erasmus.

Possibly in everything, except in this one step, he was the ideal successor to Erasmus. Like him his knowledge was encyclopaedic. Like him he stressed the necessity of the knowledge of language and literature, and added to the Latin and Greek of his master, the study of Hebrew and Arabic! The one important step where he differed was that he left Catholicism and became a Protestant - the same direction in which English Humanism was later to move. Doughty's coupling of Erasmus and Scaliger points the way to his own development on the same lines. For the unitarians of England in the Nineteenth Century were indeed following the road, the first sign of which was the value given and the nobility bestowed upon Man and his Reason by those 15th and 16th century humanists[1] of Europe and England. When Erasmus challenged Luther on the latter's ideas on predestination, and the depravity of man and when Milton, two centuries or more later gradually broke even with the Calvinistic ways of religion, they did what Doughty was later to do in always upholding a passionate belief in Man. This was Doughty's most important message of confidence and hope in 'Mansoul'. Doughty the young, vigorous and serious-minded product of Nineteenth Century England has found in the humanism of the Renaissance, the same vigorous early youth of his own humanism.

In the thinkers of that period he found his masters, and among their disciples he found his peers, and his ideals were thus fixed. Like them he was one of a group destined always to be small. Like them he has complete confidence in Man, his nobility and the ability of his reason to progress in the upward path of virtue. Like them he could not bear the imperfections in the world around. Like them, Erasmus and Scaliger in particular, he could never brook ignorance or half-learning

(1) Nineteenth Century Unitarians, as a matter of fact, always cited the omission by Erasmus in his critical publications of the Greek text of the New Testament (1516) of the famous Trinitarian verse 1, Jn. 56, as one of their points of argument.

or dishonesty in argument or quotations. Like them he put emphasis on the importance of certain academic studies like the study of languages. Even his political diatribes were like those of Erasmus, far too academic and too general to have any effect. Everything - language, literature and even science were looked at in a didactic and religious light. All were part and parcel of the study of virtue. Like More and the English Platonists, he believed that philosophy cannot be and is never opposed to genuine Christianity. There was no opposition between faith and knowledge. The clash is not disguised, because it can be reconciled. Zoroaster, Socrates and Christ are part of the golden line of divine inspiration in human life. And like Spenser he was destined to serve his country and race through the medium of poetry. Thus in his late twenties, the main outlines of his opinions, attitudes and tastes become clearer, and what follows in his grand tour of Europe and the East is but a slow accretion of experience and knowledge, where no sudden changes or illuminations seem to occur. The future brings a gradual strengthening of the trend, and slight, if any, modifications in his thought. Doughty's world was clearly defined when he left England in 1870.

But what was the actual image of that world, from which Doughty's roots spring, and in which he had to live and breathe, and to which he put up the ideal mirror of the early Renaissance? England after Napoleon's Wars in some ways was reminiscent of its former glorious days in the reign of the Virgin Queen. Emotions of patriotism and courage were aroused at the beginning of the Nineteenth Century as they were never before aroused except in the days of Elizabeth. People in their different classes were banded together in their readiness to sacrifice for the life and freedom of their fatherland. Nor did this intense feeling of patriotism die with the end of the duel with Napoleonic France in 1816. For this is always the norm, that a great national deliverance from a foreign foe is

usually followed by a remarkable outburst of the national spirit. Here Britain began an era of greatness unprecedented in history since the days of Ancient Rome. Britain for the first time became a World Power. On the seven seas, her command was unchallenged. The already discovered parts of the globe were open to her trade, and the undiscovered parts of the earth were open to the exploits of her adventurous sons. North America, Australia, South Africa and New Zealand were parts of her empire. Raw materials from every corner of the globe were at the disposal of her new fangled industries, and her busy factories made her the first, and for many generations, the only mass-producing centre of industry in the whole world.

Intellectual advance went hand in hand with economic expansion. Science opened new vistas, and Man's range of knowledge and ability to control Nature was unprecedented. Sciences of 'Light', 'Heat', 'Electricity', 'Metallurgy' and 'Medicine' progressed so quickly that in a few years Man gained what he could not gain in centuries before, and thus his belief in his abilities and in his powers was beyond comparison with anything he felt before, and all that progress showed itself first in Britain and in the British race. The prosperity of England reached its peak in the unprecedented boom of the middle of the century, and the splendour of the Great Exhibition (1851). The self-confidence of the English reached its highest in men like Palmerston and Disraeli. The self-righteousness of theEnglish reached its highest in men like Gladstone. The blind belief in the abilities of the English, and their capability of realising all their dreams of grandeur showed in men like Edward Gibbon Wakefield and Cecil Rhodes.

Doughty was born in an age in which everybody could breathe the air of patriotism, blindconfidence in the British race and nation, and in their abilities to reach the highest in every sphere of human activity. This new spirit of confidence, hope and greatness, was not found in the complacent air of the Eighteenth Century, nor in the faction-torn days of civil war andconflict in the Seventeenth. The best example in the past history of the English race was only the age of Elizabeth. The nearest parallels in the field of adventure to Wakefield and Rhodes and the like were t ose of Raleigh, Drake and Sidney. The reign of Victoria and the reign of Elizabeth were nearer in spirit than all the centuries that came in between. Doughty's feelings of patriotism and pride in country and race had many things to sustain them then, and the greatest of these was indeed the Empire, and the dominion which extended far and wide into distant territories in the four corners of the earth, including under the flag, a complexity of races, colours and cultures more varied than that of ancient Rome.

But there was another side to the coin, and nearer to the centre itself everything was not as it should have been. The transformation of England from a thinly populated agricultural country to a densely populated industrial one was naturally accompanied by difficult pangs of labour. The population started to increase by leaps and bounds. In 1811, the population of England and Wales was a little over 10 million. In 1871 it was nearly 23 millions. That of course meant a variety of social ills and difficult problems. Great among them was the over-crowding of the new industrial mushroom cities. Leeds and Sheffield, for example, increased sevenfold till the end of the century. Overcrowding meant squalor and poverty. Sanitary conditions were in the worst possible state. But to these terrible hovels people flocked from

the country, so that the countryside was drained to feed the new industries. These new townees had no natural cohesion or common sympathy (yet), and were divorced from all the traditions which formed and bound together the lives of their forefathers. Neither did they have the leisure or the interest or the ability to hover above their present misery and terrible mishaps, to think in terms of national feelings or patriotic endeavour. Nor was the countryside in a better state for their migration to the new towns. The countryside suffered economically as well as politically. The old balance between town and country was gone not to return, and a new balance was not yet found. To feed the millions in the new cities, corn and meat were imported from abroad, and that brought to the verge of ruin, England's agriculture. The farmer and the labourer in the field were in no better state than the workers in the mines or in the new cotton industries in the Midlands and the North. Life was difficult everywhere.

Then came the occasion when these inherent weaknesses in the State of England were exposed. While Doughty was still young, England and France went into the war against Russia. For a while at least, the Crimean War (1854-1856) showed how weak and unprepared England was at the time. This was the first shock England had since the glorious victory at Waterloo. Then when Doughty was still at Cambridge, in his most impressionable age, and his most decisive years, there came news of the American Civil War (1861-1865) which had disasterous repercussions in England itself - the famous cotton famine which closed all the cotton factories, and rendered idle thousands of workers. Later nearer the end of the century, Doughty, grown up now and matured, was again to share the disappointment and the feelings of shame when the early set-backs of the Boer War were to prove once more that everything in the State of England was not as it should be.

That is the wider frame. Within that frame, nearer to Doughty's private life, there were other factors. We have already referred to the decline of agriculture and the decline of Suffolk, and stressed the decline of the class from which Doughty himself sprang up. We have referred also to the personal problems of the loss of mother, father and home, and to his life of an orphan ward. Another important disappointment was the University itself.

This indeed was a time when both Cambridge and Oxford were changing moods; and the old and the new clashed in every aspect. We have already commented upon Doughty's migration from Caius to Downing. But this was a simple act compared to the words one finds in Doughty's 'Notes'. He calls the University there, 'a nest of illiberal studies"(1). The College Hall is called "Pedant's Hall". The time the student spends in the University is said to be ". . . a barbarous corrupting of man's time". The learning he gets there is ". . . counterfeit learning ." and again "a false nightmare of learning". Students living or graduating are said to "live like beasts and leave like beasts". In the University curriculum he sees many useless studies pursued, while other main branches were neglected completely or given less care than they deserved. In the 'Notes' he writes, ". . . the slender minded men do not cease to entangle their brains in the sterile vanities of logic and mathematics as who would spend all his age in the little sufficient and more is too much curiosity of grammarian's art". He deplores the care given to the study of Greek and Latin, while English itself is not given the same care.

On the wider topic of Education he has a lot to say(2). The

(1) In 'Arabia Deserta' he writes "the Universities - those shambles of good wits". (Arabia Deserta II, p.362)

(2) Much of this is copied from Elyot, Cheke, Lydgate and the other Renaissance writers on Education.

end of all education to him is, ". . . to obtain a certain erect attitude of mind in study . . . ". On the methods of teaching languages he says, "The virgin ground of the mind should at first be pleasantly irrigated and lightly broken over under the modern tongues and then follow with the desired (reasoning?) of letters, an habitude acquired of liberal non-servile studies - with Greek and Latin at the beginning and later the soil strengthened and adorned proceeds with notions of calculation". Teachers must themselves be good examples for their students, because "children cannot be saved . . .(but by watching masters) not as the most all covetous brutish masters . . ." At the back of this is the belief that all men are born with abilities to learn and do good, if they were taught how, and taught well. "The child of the best of us" he writes, "bred with beasts must grow himself to a beast he could not choose. So the child of the lower tribes of savages bred among us would become . . . a capable man". Thus children should never be treated harshly, for "the sin of unkindness it is a murder of many fair young blossoms". And the only method is indeed that of ". . . praise and encouragement". And then he copies a proverbial saying, "As the tree is bent it will grow".

For the advance of Man, learning is all-important. And he speaks in the Notes of the ". . mind tilled with watered with learning". The man worthy of the name must indeed be ". . . well entered in learning". But looking around him to his own country and his people he is disappointed, for they do not care much for learning. They do not care much for their language which is their only key to learning. "Man", he writes in the Notes, "without speech is like a brute". Yet not to read at all is a better evil than to read evil things. "It is better not to read at all than to read ill", he writes. And looking around him at the literature written at that time, he writes again in the Notes, "Then in these times it were as well not to read". But his disappointment with contemporary literature will be dealt with later. My main concern

now is Doughty's disappointment at the discovery that the English of his time did not care for their language and literature. At its severest that disappointment is shown when he writes in the Notes, "the English are idiotic in letters in this materia every vile flattering charlatan knave pleases their perfectly clumsy taste and tickles their (ill taste) they have no stomach and no taste in the proper nourishment of the spirit." The effect of that carelessness he felt would be disasterous even in the international sphere. "When they have lost India", he writes, "and are rejected by the Colonies then (they) will fall to learning for want of other occupations like the Germans". And again, "Now all is dead . . . the cloth is nailed upon the cross. The language is denaturillized, we have forgotten the speech . ." And to live again, the English people must be led to what he calls in the Notes, the New Anglicism.

And Doughty was an idealist, and would never accept a half-measure in an attempt to cure the ills of the age. The cure must always be thorough and must start at the roots. And he was never desperate; for the blackness and the horrible depths of despair were unknown to him. So in all hope and optimism, he started to act - and act first on himself. If he has a message, then he must be worthy of the message, and capable of solving the problem himself. That leads us to the many-sided channels of education, and the variety of fields tried by Doughty. Science - geography, geology, archaeology - was not enough. Other branches were as important, if not more important than science, and at the heart of it all lay the study of language, which either made or unmade the man. Of his scientific studies little can be said in a literary thesis by a literary man, but neither "Arabia Deserta" nor "The Titans" could be what they are if Doughty was not the geologist and the geographer that he is. "The Dawn in Britain" and the "Prophetic

Books" could not be the way they are if Doughty had no interest in historical studies. And all are indeed, as they were in Doughty's mind, linked together with man's only way of discourse and expression, the word or the language. It is to his first geological search outside Britain, his journey to the Norwegian Glaciers, that Doughty himself traces back his interest in the study of comparative languages. That interest led him at the time and later on to the study of Danish, Dutch, German, Italian, Spanish and Arabic besides the Latin and Greek he knew, and besides the various stages of his native tongue - Anglo-Saxon, Middle and Modern English. The study of language led to the study of contents, of the periods of birth, growth am maturity of the language and its literature, and the gradual emergence of a civilization. And upon this study is based all the world of his works. This explains why "The Dawn in Britain" for example, and not "Arabia Deserta" is central in his scheme of things.

Doughty was not excessively rich, but he had enough for his wants not to be forced to work for a living. There was no need for him to adopt a profession and no one to press him or induce him to do so. He was free from family responsibilities or emotional shackles. All the feelings he had were directed towards, not a home or a family, but to the service of a country and a race. And he was resolute enough and clear-sighted enough to embrace a discipline, which created a great body of literary works from this unlimited liberty. He had an almost instinctive, almost intuitive belief in himself, in his sacred duty to serve England, and in his ability to do so. Nowhere do we even sense hesitation or wavering or fear of failure. Everything was meticulously and scrupulously made: his rumblings in England to learn about its history, his residence in Oxford to read into the literature of its past ages, and his travels abroad, to put the finishing touches to the education of himself - in the old traditional way - roaming like a

scholar-gipsy, through the Continent to Holland, Belgium, France, Spain, Italy, Greece, Algeria, Tunisia, Syria, Palestine, Egypt and at last to Arabia, and via India, back home[1]. But more important by far than his travels in these lands are his travels up the ladder of time to the past ages of the language, literature and civilization of Europe in general and England in particular. Reading, learning and travel became the one occupation of his present, and all his energies were directed towards more travels and more learning. The geographer in him lingered on. The archaeologist in him lingered on. The philologist in him lingered on; and all these were assimilated by the man of letters, and all went to help make his works what they are. When Doughty left England in 1870, he was not only the product of the Nineteenth Century, as indeed he was bound to be, but he had also discovered through his studies the manliness and the vigour of the Renaissance. His studies in religion and philosophy led him back to it. His studies in the history and civilization of his country and race led him back to it. His studies in patriotism led him to it. His studies in language and literature led him back to it. On the Nineteenth Century as a basic fact and point of departure, on the Renaissance as his constant ideal and source of inspiration, the whole world of Doughty's works is constructed. But before we discuss his works, we should have a look at his early studies in language and literature.

(1) Hogarth follows Doughty's travels in Europe and Arabia in details, and we need not do it again.

Doughty was not the first or the last man of letters to revolt against the literature of his age. Some years before him, a greater poet who was still living in Doughty's younger days, started the greatest conflagration in the English literature of that age. Wordsworth, like so many people before and after, could not accept the dominant language of poetry at that time, and in his revolutions searched for new invigorating sources in the spoken language of the simple men he lived among. His task, then, was a task of "injection", an attempt to give new blood to an ailing, but still living, body of literature. And in advocating a return to the simple language of rustic men, Wordsworth opened the door wide for other searchers into other sources. The Nineteenth Century is full of poets consciously adapting the dialects of various parts of England for their use as poets. Nearer Doughty's time, we have a host of poets using the dialects of their respective counties. Tennyson's poetry is full of Lincolnshire words. Even G. M. Hopkins benefits from the dialectal wealth of contemporary English. And the trend is more outspoken in the case of the avowedly dialect poets, like T. E. Browne, William Barnes and Hardy.

But to Doughty the situation was wholly different, for the literature of his age was hardly <u>living</u>, and the spoken language of his day was no less dead. Both the dialects of the Midlands - he calls it "Middlesex" and labels it "costermongery" - and the dialect of his native Suffolk, were of no use to him, for they had lost what he calls the 'sap & pith' of human life, and became repetitive babblings of a generation of faint men.

W. Taylor in his glossary of words from "Arabia Deserta" enlists some as being dialectal words, but A. McCormick has shown most of them as being taken from the recorded literature of an earlier age. Suffolk had also produced other poets like Crabbe, and influenced others like Fitz?erald, but these are to Doughty men from another planet. Doughty's language, as we hope to prove in later parts of this thesis, does not spring from the spoken language of his day. Nor does it come from the written language of his day; for it was exactly the trend of the literature of his age, to which he was vigorously objecting. His references to Chaucer and Spenser as his sacred masters are well known, and have been made much of, by all the commentators on Doughty's work. But surely both Chaucer and Spenser were ancestors to so much that was written in Doughty's day. Spenser indeed was the source of inspiration and the model for some of the best poetry written in the Nineteenth Century. If Doughty's relationship to Spenser, were in nature alike to the relationship between the latter and the other Victorian poets, it follows that there is something inexplicable in Doughty's utter and complete repugnance to their work. Spenser was one of the idols worshipped by the Nineteenth Century English poets and Doughty was no exception there. But it is exactly where Spenser fathers their poetry that Spenser becomes to Doughty, "impure" and "diluted".(1)

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(1) Post Ills to "The Dawn in Britain".

The strains of Spenserian poetry which influenced Nineteenth Century English poetry, were not the strains which made Doughty rank him as high as he did. We will have to deal with the relationship of Doughty and Spenser later on, but it is enough here to note that in Doughty's opinion, the English language starts to decay "in Spenser's life-time".(1)

It is to what had happened in English literature before Spenser, and reached its maturity and culmination in and about Spenser's time, that Doughty transfers his allegiance. Thus the developments of the English language and literature in the later Seventeenth, the Eighteenth and the Nineteenth Centuries, are deliberately side-stepped. Doughty thus consciously tries to avoid the ebb and flow, and the various fluctuations and influences of English throughout these centuries. Thus even the Spenserian influences, which of course must have filtered through these centuries under the towering colossal shadows of Shakespeare and Milton, are consequently avoided by Doughty. He approaches Chaucer and Spenser, as it were, from behind. He begins as a pupil of languages literally from the beginning and from scratch, and proceeds - learning, collecting gems and gathering speed until he walks beside his masters. If one were to follow his independent line, one would find not the 'sickly' language and literature of Victorian England, but "something else". In writing "Arabia Deserta", Doughty said that he wished to show "that there was something else".(2)

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(1) Post Illa to "The Dawn in Britain"

(2) Letter written in 1913; quoted by A. Tremper on Page 26

Although we can remain assured that Doughty knew what he was about, it is yet worthwhile to try to decide, as far as possible, the extent of his knowledge of contemporary literature. It is possible to assume with a fair amount of certainty, that Doughty did not read anything written in English literature after 1870. It is certain also that his contact with the living language of his country, and the written word of its literature stopped practically when he was only in his early twenties, and from there onward he depended completely on an artificially segregated literary existence, allowing contact with what he called the English "of the best times", the English of Chaucer and Spenser and their peers. The last of the great literary names mentioned in his "Notes"(1) is that of Ben Jonson, and he is characteristically dismissed as "Dunghill Ben Jonson".(1) Of all the Nineteenth Century authors, the only name mentioned by Doughty anywhere in his writings is that of Sir Walter Scott.(2) Nothing whatever is said about any of his own contemporaries anywhere. In the gap between Jonson and Scott, only a handful of authors(3) and books, not in the main line of English poetry, are mentioned here and there in Doughty's works, except possibly the name of Dr. Johnson, who is once referred to as "funereal Johnson".(4)

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(1) The Notes are deposited at the library of Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge.

(2) In a letter quoted by Hogarth

(3) Each of them will be mentioned, when the different works are discussed. Examples are: Cotton and Walton in "The Clouds".

(4) "The Lay of the Long-One": see the Appendix. Notice that the poem was written when Doughty was still an undergraduate at Downing College.

But such a complete turn about, and such an adamant rejection of contemporary literature, which Doughty showed in every occasion, betrays his deep knowledge of the contemporary scene. If he had not known it well, he could not have revolted against it so bitterly. The fact that he scrupulously kept his serious written work clean of contemporary allusions and influences should not, I think, obscure the issue. That he no where discusses his prejudices, nor gives a clear critical apologia of his ideas and his ideals, is perhaps unfortunate. It makes the task of the scholar of Doughty more difficult. Yet it is not impossible to discover what in contemporary literature led to this unprecedented aversion to it. The last word and the full proof must certainly be a complete survey of his works, and the qualities in which they differ from the works of his contemporaries. That would by inference show what Doughty must have disliked, and that task will gradually be tackled in the later parts of this study. Here let us give the general outlines, and try to capture the background of it all, and leave the detailed discussion of each work to its place in the general scheme.

To what extent than does Doughty show his knowledge of contemporary literature? What exactly was the extent of his knowledge? The simple fact that such questions could arise in the study of the work of a major man of letters like Doughty, is enough to show our uncertainty, and the lack of solid proofs with which the scholar is faced in any discussion of his works.

Mrs. R. Robbins, who arrived in Kent just after Doughty's death to study his works tells me[1] that she began to sound Mrs. Doughty[2] to discover if he had ever read the works of various particular poets like Ben Jonson. Hogarth merely brings in the name of 'Scott', which is found in one of Doughty's letters[3]. Miss A. Treneer says that Doughty did not read any Milton after the age of sixteen[4]. A. McCormick suggests that Doughty must have known the works of Bunyan[5]. That is all, and nothing more is suggested by the critics of Doughty's work, of his knowledge of English literature after the Jacobean Age. Add to that the typically Doughtyesque stories which show his complete ignorance of great contemporary works in English literature and his complete isolation from the literary life of his age. Once when somebody mentioned Hardy's "Dynasts", Doughty is said to have enquired, "And who, pray, is Hardy?"[6] Osbert Sitwell also records an improbable story about Doughty asking E. Gosse, if he could obtain for him the O.M.![7]

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(1) In an oral conversation at "Rukery Farm", her hospitable abode in Hants.

(2) Mrs. Doughty never pretended to any knowledge of literature herself.

(3) Hogarth: P 162.

(4) A. Treneer: "Charles M. Doughty, A Study of His Prose and Verse", Page 168.

(5) A Ph.D. Thesis, deposited at the "London University Library", [illegible]

(6) Hogarth: Page 172.

(7) O. Sitwell: "Noble Essences" Pages 59-60.

later on still, T. E. Lawrence in one of his letters tries to introduce to Doughty the name of John Masefield, as not an important poet but an influential critic.(1)

Now two more sources of information have come to my knowledge, which, used here for the first time, shed some light on this darkest problem of the extent of Doughty's knowledge of contemporary literature. Both must have existed when a number of critical works on Doughty were written, but it was only a stroke of luck which brought them out to be used here. Although both are easy to reach, yet I find it useful to put each of them as an appendix at the end of this study. One is the important list of books in the library at Theberton Hall, where Doughty was born, and where he spent the early years of his childhood. The other is the first poem which exists, written by Doughty in his Cambridge days, probably in 1864, when he was only twenty-one years of age.(2)

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Doughty was six years old when he left Theberton Hall, to live with his uncle and guardian at Hartlesham, Suffolk. It is of course possible to argue that six years old was a very early age, too early for him to have been able to use his father's library. But there are various examples in the field of literature of children whose literary abilities at an early age, were, to say the least, astonishing. The most famous example is Alexander Pope, who was about six when he became "a lover of books".

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(1) The Letters of T. E. Lawrence: Edited by D. Garnett: Page 326.

(2) A. Treneer who does not seem to know of its existence, says Doughty had "no juvenilia".

But there are other examples. The poet Crabbe is said to have been defended in a brawl by a young man because "he had got learning". Elizabeth Barrett Browning was able, when she was only eight years of age to read Homer in the original, and before she was eleven she is said to have finished writing an epic poem of four books. D. G. Rossetti is said to have composed three dramatic scenes, correct at least in spelling and metre, before the age of five or six. And we should not forget that in the wider world of the Nineteenth Century, more unfortunate children than E. B. Browning or D. G. Rossetti or C. M. Doughty, started to work for their living, down in the darkness of the coal pits before they were six or seven. Surely it must be possible to maintain that something of the treasures of learning at Theberton Hall library must have found their way to impress that sensitive intelligent child, and we should at least be certain that Doughty was an intelligent child. In the "Chintz Room" at Theberton Hall, for example, there was a plaster bust of John Milton; and in the "Study", there were two small busts, one again of Milton and the other of Goethe. Is it then impertinent to assume that Milton, for instance, was one of the household idols at Theberton Hall?

First of all there were, in the library at Theberton Hall the specifically religious books, which were naturally for the use of the father-rector, and which must have had a deep and lasting influence on the sensitive child. There was the Holy Book in English, French, Greek and Latin. There were books on theology by ancient and modern writers.

There were books on moral philosophy, and books on morality and moral behaviour, books like Chesterfield's "Politness" and Taylor's "Holy Living and Holy Dying". There were books of ecclesiastical law, and books of 'Prophecies' and 'Apologies'. Above all there were books of Sermons, Sermons by Clarke, by Marriott, by Sumner, by Heber, by Barrow, and by Paley. On the influence of Sermons on Doughty we will have to dwell later on. The issue now is his father's library at Theberton Hall. There were also books on "science". It seems that among the many-sided hobbies of the Rector-Squire, which later on had its influence on his famous son, there was a deep interest in other branches of human knowledge, than theology or literature. The library contained scientific books, 'Astronomy', 'Mineralogy', 'Botany' and 'Geogoly', and naturally books on the geography of the Bible. And when his children fell ill, the Squire father, would have read a book in his library "On the diseases of children" by Maunsell and Evanson(1) or looked it up in the "Medical Dictionary".(2)

The father must have also been the model of his son as the eager never-tiring tourist of his time,(3) for the library contained a great variety of books on practically every part of Great Britain and on Europe. There were Kennett's "Antiquities of Rome" and Potter's "Grecian Antiquities", and a book on the "Cities of Etrusia". There were books on and maps of Great Britain and the Continent, books on tours of Wales and Scotland, books on ancient and modern Dublin, books on London, Brighton, Harrogate and Scarborough, books on the Wye Valley and the Lakes, and books on

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(1) See Hogarth on Doughty's weak health.

(2) Doughty himself used a similar book in Arabia.

(3) Hogarth says he made the Grand Tour in his day.

European capitals like Brussels. Is it possible that here in the dreams of a child reading about tours, we have the beginnings of a career of travelling for one destined to become one of the greatest of English travellers?

On 'History' there were also so many books. There were books on the history of the Ancient World: Egypt, Greece, Isreal and Rome. There were books on the history of Britain in general and England in particular, books by "Rapin","Hume" and "Smollett". There were books on the history of Religion, like Burnett's "History of the Reformation" and his book "On the 39 Articles". There were books on their native county of Suffolk, like Suckling's "History and Antiquities of Suffolk". There were books on contemporary history, like the "Life of Nelson", and the "Court and Camp of Buonaparte".

To religion, science, history and travelling, the library added also a number of miscellaneous reviews and magazines. "The Edinburgh Review", "The Spectator" and "The British Critic" were there to betray the father's clear interest in contemporary literature. There was also the "Art Journal" and so many instruments of drawing(1) to betray his interest in art.(2)

And now let us have a look at the treasures of literature at Theberton Hall, where I have no doubt, young Doughty started his schooling.

There were to begin with the usual stock of classical authors: Homer, Xenophon and Euripides. There were Tacitus and Plutarch; Ovid, Virgil, Juvenal, Caesar, Cicero, Tasso and Boccaccio. There were also the great

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(1) Some critics have shown astonishment at Doughty's ability to draw and sketch. This could be where he first learnt the art.

(2) See Hogarth: Doughty's father added an Italian Suite to Theberton Hall.

modern classics of Dante and Cervantes, Voltaire, Marmontel and Moliere. There were also various novels and 'sundries', the exact titles of which it is impossible to ascertain. The list, for example, mentions a "Quantity of School Books", doubtless for the use of the future poet and his elder brother. How much we have lost through vagueness of the list!

Now we come to the English poets and prose-writers. We do not know, and there is no way to discover, with which of them Doughty started his readings of English literature, and which of them influenced him most, nor can we be certain if he started to read them at all. Yet it is most probable that he started here and continued reading contemporary authors, until the time, probably before leaving Cambridge, when he decided he had had enough, and thus turned his back on it all. Here in the list of books at Theberton Hall, we find all the names that are not in the Bordleian list[1] of his readings, and are shown by internal evidence in his books, to be among the authors he had known[2]. Here we have the dramatic works of Shakespeare, Beaumont and Fletcher, Otway and Lee and Congreve: Elizabethan Drama shown beside the dramatists of the Restoration Period. Here are the Essays of Bacon, beside the Essay of Locke: the wisdom of the Renaissance beside the new science of later ages. Here we have the Essays of Addison and Price. Here we also have the English novelists of all ages: Richardson, Sterne and Smollett; Swift, Johnson and Goldsmith and Scott. Here we have the works of the great English poets, whose names are usually

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(1) Hogarth: Appendix Pages 206-7.

(2) McCormick provides Bunyan as an example.

set aside in any work on Doughty: Shakespeare and Milton, Dryden and Butler and Pope, Johnson and Goldsmith, Crabbe and Cowper, Churchill and Thomson, Burns and Scott, Coleridge and Southey and of Byron and Moore. Here we have Gibbon's great "Decline and Fall". Here we have the "Arabian Nights". Who could resent the temptation to assume that the child must have fallen for a while under the magic spell of these wonderful oriental stories?

Thus the list is almost complete, and a background of studies in modern literature is made possible to the young would-be poet. Thus a great gap, which exists in all the studies of Doughty's works, is to the utmost possible extent, filled, and we can assume that Doughty did not suddenly in his Cambridge later years, perceive and proceed on the spot to put into action, an ambitious journey into the remote past of a literature the present of which he knew nothing about. Thus it is fair to assume that when he left Theberton Hall, to Martlesham, to Elstree, and to Laleham Grammar School, he started to build upon a foundation that was already there.(1)

On one part of what we have just discussed, coupled with his own childhood ramblings in various historic parts of Suffolk, Doughty must have based his choice of "geology" as soon as the Navy, which was first chosen for him, rejected him. On the other more important part of this childhood background, is certainly based his choice of the field of literature, as the one great chance for dedicated service for his country and race. The beginning of his literary interest, must have then started there at the beginning of his life, and we shall once and for all stop considering Doughty as an amateur who has suddenly decided to exchange a career for the Navy

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(1) His teacher writing to his aunt says he was "the best boy".
See Hogarth: Page 3.

with a career for writing, and because he did not like contemporary literature started then and only then, to search for something new. Doughty must have studied literature at Theberton Hall, then at Elstree and at Lelehan Grammar School, and then under private tutors, with whom he spent some time in France.(1) Although we know that he studied literature, we do not exactly know <u>what</u> he had studied and which authors and forms he liked best. In his Cambridge days it seems, he started to <u>write</u>. He himself cites his Norwegian journey, in his Cambridge days, as a crucial point in his linguistic consciousness, and refers back to the later Cambridge days, his desire to write an Epic on the early history of Britain. That desire was not simply wishful thinking, for it must have been based on a real interest in literature, and a real knowledge of poetry <u>prior to</u> the time in which the decision was taken. Yet it is true to say that the issues seem to have become clear in his mind only in his later Cambridge days. At the beginning of his Cambridge days, he was a student of contemporary literature, and at the end of it he had irrecoverably taken a stand against it, and started to show the world and himself that there was "something else". Yet in between, and half-way through his Cambridge days we have two products of his pen, which are the earliest of his existing writings. These we propose to discuss now.

First comes the only piece of prose, which Doughty has written in his youth: on "The Jöstedal Brae in Norway with some general remarks and a plate", printed privately in 1866 in London.(2) This was a short essay of about eleven pages, and because it is scientific, there are hardly

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(1) Hogarth: P. 3.

(2) The Copy in the British Museum Library is used here.

any peculiarities of style or excellences of structure. In only one side, is there an anticipation of what is to come. Although the punctuation is regular, it is yet excessive. Sentences are cut into their component parts by commas, semi-colons and colons, and the small units thus gain a remarkable force of projected assertion. Though all is within the limits of the normal and the admissible, yet the later extravagance is only a heightening and a development of what is here. The seeds or if you like, the germs, are here.

The second is the other source of information, used for the first time in this study, a humorous poem which Doughty wrote in his Downing days in 1864, kept and later printed privately in London, on a date which is not specified. A copy, given by Doughty to Prof. E. Ray Lankester, a fellow-student and a neighbour of his at Downing, is now in the London University Library. The poem is a Pindaric ode, complete with a motto from Pindar, and is called "The Lay of the Long-One".(1) It is clear that at the back of his mind, he has the lays of Sir Walter Scott, and his elvish heros, and the songs of Robin Hood and his peers. But this is a mock heroic poem on a Downing College Pensioner, who dismayed because Downing College was backward in the field of sports in Cambridge, swore upon "That beard of brindled clay" to do something to rescue the good name of his college. Doughty did not care for sports,(2) and the mock heroic sarcastic vein that he displays is a forerunner of the piercing criticisms

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(1) The whole poem is given as an appendix at the end of this thesis.

(2) Hogarth: P.4.

of "Arabia Deserta", and in direct contrast with the seriousness of the rest of his works. The poem has nothing peculiar or eccentric about it, and could be the work of any literary-minded undergraduate of Cambridge at the time. But it is unique, as being the only poem written by Doughty before the great epic of "The Dawn in Britain". It is unique also, because in being normal, it links the eccentric poet of later times with the common kind of poetry written in his age. It also shows he was under the influence not only of the Eighteenth Century but in particular that of Sir Walter Scott. The poem that mentions "the theme of after-minstrelsy" also abounds in 18th Century epithets like "Downing's Castled Keep", the "Grim Warden," "Dewy Slumbers","Silver Tongue","Marble Brow" and the "Matchless Men". It also mentions Johnson, twice, and this is the only time in the whole of Doughty where the great Lexicographer's name occurs. Yet there are various indications also of the future Doughty. There are new compound words like "stiff-stricken" and "word-bemuddled". There are also superb lines like:

"With a word-bemuddled brain;" and

"A wordy nothingness;" and

"O dark funereal Johnson".

But the most important thing about this poem in my opinion, is the choice of the form. For the "Great Ode", for which Pindar was the model was considered together with 'epic' and 'tragedy', as one of the major serious genres of poetry in Medi[e]val, Renaissance and Neo-Classical literatures. The contents of this poem are not of course serious, but the form

and the choice of the form show an attitude fundamental in Doughty's later works. Although Doughty is a romantic poet, he always prefers to transform his personal emotions of love, hate or grief, and his intense sense of dedication to the poet's calling, into an objective scaffolding of imagery and action. Even in 'Travels in Arabia Deserta', which is necessarily the most personal, most intimate of his works, Doughty solves his problem in one way by creating the character of Khalil, and through him lessens the burden of lyrical self-expression. Khalil is much more of a self-dramatization than a self-exposition or a self-analysis, a projection and not an extension of Doughty's character. Only in 'Mansual' does he allow himself to express emotions on the memory of his mother. But even there the emotions are in a way stylized, for Doughty's mother died when he was still a baby. [illegible]

[illegible]

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Thus the man who was so conscious of his own abilities and his own "message," and who was almost eccentric in his stress on race and country, was at the same time equally careful to efface himself from the pages of his works, and stress their objectivity. Writing about "Arabia Deserta," he draws attention, almost apologetically, to the fact that it had a personal note, being the story of his own wanderings in the desert. During the transactions between Doughty and Sir Sydney C. Cockerell for the purchase of the "Arabia Deserta

Note-books" for the Fitz William Library, Cambridge, Doughty wrote, " ..... sometimes there may be mixed with them more private thoughts and a lonely Wanderer's inmost reflections not suitable for other eyes ..." (1)

In the note-books Doughty speaks out, but in the book itself, Khalil and not Doughty, is the mouthpiece, and even then, Doughty insists more than once in his introductions and in his letters and in the book itself, that objectivity is maintained all through. When questioned about the story of Zeyd and Hirfa, he denied vehemently that anything in the book was the creation of his own imagination, and again asserted that he was nothing but an objective recorder of events and reporter of happenings. None of his other works is personal. In vain do we search for a personal note in his poems.

Now this insistence on objectivity is one important key to Doughty's revolution in literature. Objectivity is the way of science, and Doughty was a man of science, but in the literature of the day it was certainly not the norm. The age was an age of individualism and subjectivity. The poet's ideas, his inner feelings and thoughts, and his personal whims were the order of the day. Even in terms of influences, each had his whims and

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(1) Friends of a Lifetime : Letters to Sir Sidney Carlyle Cockerell. Edit. by Viola Meynell. J. Cape: 1940.

fancies. There was an over-insistence on the individuality of the poet, and overinsistence on his freedom to express that individuality. Earlier on there seemed to be, in Wordsworth and later on in Tennyson, for example, a sense of responsibility, which depended upon something more enduring than the poet's changeable whims, but under the contemporary groups of artists and poets, literature seemed on its way to the doldrums.

For Doughty the crucial years, as we have shown, were his Cambridge years and the years that followed immediately, say 1862-1868. The first date marks his emigration from Caius College to Downing College, Cambridge, and the second date marks the beginning of his extensive readings in early English literature at the Bodleian, Oxford. Earlier in this period Doughty was reading contemporary authors, and at the end of it, he had turned his back and started to concentrate on the earliest English authors. When he left Cambridge and went on to spend sometime in London, he arrived there at a time, when every book shop in the great city had, displayed in its window, the name and works of the new revolutionary "bombshell" in the world of poetry at that time - A. Swinburne.

Now Swinburne was the latest expression, perhaps in him pushed furthest, of a trend that proceeded from Keats to Tennyson, to Rossetti and the Pre-Raphaelite School. Swinburne, in my

opinion, represents everything that Doughty set his face against in the poetry of the Victorian Age. Search as we may, we were not able to find, nor did we expect to find, in the writings of Doughty any mention of Tennyson or Rossetti or Swinburne. But that is no proof that Doughty knew them not. It was impossible for any person interested in poetry, then, not to know their names. Tennyson's fame was well-established. Rossetti was the lion rampant of the literary circles, but Swinburne was the bomb that exploded exactly in those years, most crucial in Doughty's literary career, and Swinburne must have been the great representative of what Doughty calls "the decadence of the English language," and which he says he will resist "to my power."

For the Pre-Raphelites in general, and Swinburne in particular, the process was, generally speaking, a work of fusion. The poet like the soicerer throws a spell and both poetry and language, both object and manner, both words and phases and content are fused together and their identities lost in a hazy twilight world. Poetry becomes a dream in which the poet is freed from his responsibilities, and the reader is drugged into the half-conscious world of the Lotus-eaters, a world in which nothing is precise, nothing is definite. The poets had no precise image or meaning to convey. The visual imagination is deliberately blurred. The intellectual meaning is consciously lost in the process of diffusion - No images or ideas or music, but a suggestion of a fusion of all three, which is neither the one nor the other. Words are not used for their meanings but the word and the meaning 'used' to suggest an

atmosphere for both. The words are the most general words, evoking general feelings, because the emotion is never particular, never in direct line of vision, never focused, and because the words are general and the object is never definite, the thrill is created only through the woven magic of the music of the words, with nothing whatever beyond. "In Swinburne," says T.S. Eliot, "..... the object has ceased to exist.. the meaning is merely the hallucination of meaning. The language, uprooted, has adapted itself to an independent life of atmosphere nourishment." (1)

"Poems and Ballads" was the collection of poetry that Swinburne produced in 1866, the bomb that exploded in the world of English poetry about the time of Doughty's graduation in Cambridge. It was spontaneously acclaimed as great poetry, or attacked as 'morbid,''erotic,' and 'destructive,' and its author became the first of those notorious lions of literary fashion, which succeeded one another until the disgrace of Wilde at the end of the century.

Doughty's objection was the objection of a mind reared in the objectivity of science against a widespread glibness which coloured everything with a hazy mistiness and dispensed completely with precision and conscious deliberations. Against the tendency of the poets to drug and stupefy the senses of the readers, Doughty raised again and stressed the importance of a philological training

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(1) See T.S. Eliot's essay on Swinburne.

for both the author and the reader. The science of philology would add to the objectivity of the work, bring the conscious critical faculties of the author and the reader into display, and reveal to both of them the realities of the meanings beyond the words. Words then take their true places as symbols for something real in human life and experience, something either visual or oral or dropping with the sap of man's wisdom through the ages. Words become thus a vehicle for the continuous kindling of human intellectual, emotional and physical passions. Because they are living units in a language, spoken through the ages, they become a living bond between the past of man and the present and the future of the race. The whole achievement of man or nation becomes alive and is shown to be living still in the words of the language.

The misty twilight atmosphere of Mid-Victorian English Poetry in its blurred vagueness becomes equated with a death urge, a state of enervation of mind and spirit, leading to the extinction of everything noble in the English Race. Thus the problem was wider for Doughty, than a simple rejunivation of poetical matter or manner. The problem went far beyond the limits of aestheticism. It had for him its scientific side, as we have explained. It also had its political side, for Doughty would not and could not separate the decadence of English poetry from what he considered the decadence of the English people of his time.

Thus the journey in search for an age in which the language was at its best, was at the same time a search for an age in which the English people were at the greatest period of their history. In the re-juvenation of the language then Doughty found an outlet for all his personal and general discontent. It is no// distortion of facts to say that Doughty's attempt at the rejuvenation of the language was all inclusive. The aristocrat who has arrived when his class was dying, the patriot whose desire to serve his country in the Navy was early rejected, and the orphan whose roots at home were so undernourished, found at last the Cause, which includes all causes. The man who was never forced to work and earn a living, found the most ardous and most important job for an Englishman of his time to do. He would not rejuvenate the language in the way Wordsworth or Browning or Hopkins tried to do. He would "find the new Anglicism." (1) " I my desire to lead the Anglicism into a good channel."

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But an all-inclusive Cause, which takes upon itself to preach and to act, could not escape being in its crusading nature a moral revolution. Doughty's objection to the English poetry of

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(1) From the Word Notes. Mrs. Robbins takes 'Anglicism' to mean the language. To me it is very much wider in meaning. See her introduction to "The Dawn in Britain."

his time was also a moralist's objection. It is true that the moral corruption in the private liven of poets and their circles was a byword of the time, and here again Rossetti and Swinburne provide the best examples. But every Victorian pedagogue would raise the cry against that to the skies. Doughty's objection was deeper, more fundamental and more sweeping. Even if they lived a blameless life, his moral objection would not have changed. Even if Swinburne had lived like an angel, and preached Christianity, the gulf between the word and the object in his poetry, would have been, in Doughty's opinion, not only a fault in application, but also a symptom of a hypocritical situation. That the word should directly represent an object beyond, was for Doughty, a moral necessity as much as it was an aesthetic or linguistic necessity. This is the explanation of so many sayings of Doughty, which might seem, if we do not try to understand, completely baffling. "This people have lost faith; they think their language is outworn," (1) he wrote in the Word-Notes, and by faith, he did not mean only faith in language. "Language and more language, as without words we cannot think."

This, in my opinion, is of the utmost importance in any study of Doughty - to realise the depth and the tremendousness of his

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(1) Quoted by R. Robbins in her introduction to the epic : Page 8.

revolution. Then various widespread side issues repeated by many critics and through their repetition accepted as fact are shown against this central truth of Doughty's art, to be what they really are - misunderstandings of his aims and means. The most important of these plausibilities, is the one concerning the influences of various foreign languages on the style of Doughty. German, Latin, Hebrew and Arabic, all are met with in any study of Doughty's work, but in some of these studies, each of these languages in turn is chosen as the dominant influence on Doughty's language. Enough to say that the stress on the influences of the Arabic on the style of 'Arabia Deserta,' mars the otherwise accurate and wonderful study of W. Taylor.

Another is the search for the dominant English author or book whose influence is greater or greatest on the language of Doughty. Chaucer and Spenser, Tyndale and Coverdale, Hakluyt and Sandys, Elyot and the translators of the Bible were each in turn cited by different critics. With the realization that the aims and ways of Doughty were on the vastest possible scale, our evaluations of each trickle of an influence is readjusted and put in its right place. The English language as a whole becomes the issue when we come to discuss Doughty's work, and the English language meant the output in prose and poetry of all the English Race from the earliest periods through the golden and silver ages, on to the modern times. Not poetry by itself, nor prose by itself, but

language which is the basis of all. Nor this poet or that prose-writer, but the whole output of all of them pooled into the vast living body of literature. Thus King Alfred writing in the earliest times, and Chaucer, writing in the fourteenth century, and Spenser writing in the Sixteenth Century, and Sir Henry Wotton in the Seventeenth Century, all find their places in the pages of "Arabia Deserta." Let us try to follow Doughty's steps through the various periods of the English language and literature from the earliest stages to the time when he himself started to write his great books.

The list of books, given by Hogarth in an appendix[1] to his official biography of Doughty, has for a long time been the only authentic enumeration of sources known to have been certainly used by Doughty in his extensive studies before he began to write his works. Until now all the scholars who wrote on Doughty had to depend only on that list besides the authors mentioned by Doughty in his works. Professor Barker Fairley being the first to write a complete study of his works, even before Hogarth's book and list were published, had to depend only on the internal evidence, and it is to his credit that his book is surer and more masterly than most of the writers who followed him. Anne Treneer was luckier in that she had at hand a lot more of evidence in Doughty's notes and library. Yet she used some and neglected some and did not give a complete reference to the sources. Annette McCormick took Hogarth's list for granted as her only source guide, and then proceeded to pick and choose and discuss mainly three travel books - Camden, Maundeville and Hakluyt - as being the ones, beside the Bible, which had a marked influence on Doughty's prose style. Yet it was clear all the way that Hogarth's list falls short of covering Doughty's readings, even in Oxford; and thus leaves a tremendous gap in our knowledge of his sources. Hogarth himself quotes Prof. E. Ray Lankester, Doughty's friend and neighbour in his Downing College days, as saying that Doughty was then busy reading Herbert Spencer.[2] We have already discussed

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(1) Hogarth: Pages 206-7

(2) Hogarth: Page 6

the newly-discovered poetical juvenilia of Doughty at that period. Hogarth again later on quotes Doughty's words that the main reason why he left England for Holland was his respect and love for Erasmus and Scaliger.(1) Yet neither Spencer, nor Erasmus nor Scaliger is mentioned among Doughty's sources, though it is of course reasonable to expect their names to pop up sometimes in the vast body of literature, of which the list gives only the titles on the covers of the books. Doughty was never a man to pursue anything half-heartedly. If he speaks about his reverence for Erasmus and Scaliger, it simply means that he had devoured all he could find in their works, that suited his temperament and agreed with his ways. It will never do to depend exclusively on that very limited list. That list should only be taken as one guide, something to point the way in which Doughty's restless and hungry mind moved in those early days. The list of books in his father's library, which we have taken as a possible source of Doughty's knowledge of contemporary literature, points at the qualities which made him turn his back on the literature of his day, and this list in Hogarth points at the literature and the period which he studied to find a sure basis for his future work as writer and poet.

Besides these two lists, and the internal evidence, there are two sources neglected until now, but of the utmost importance in any study of Doughty's works. The first and more important are the notes and manuscripts, of words, phrases and quotations left by Doughty and deposited now at Caius Library, Cambridge. The second source lies in the number of books owned by Doughty at his death, and deposited later at Caius College

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(1) Hogarth: Pages 8 and 9

Library. On these Mrs. Ruth Robbins is working and her work when it is finished must be the last word on Doughty's sources. But here all we can do is to try to give as full a treatment as we can. In his word-notes, under the word 'letters', after various quotations from Latin authors, from Lydgate and from Spenser, Doughty wrote, "reading the few best authors, I have read all books". One cannot tell if these were his own words or words of a quotation copied from some author - this is the main difficulty in dealing with his manuscripts - but still these words show the way in which we should treat his list of readings, "as indications only of what he considered the best books by the best authors of the golden age". Let us then with the help of all the available material try to trace his steps in this most important period of preperations, when Doughty had chosen his field, and chosen what he considered the most fruitful part of the field, and started systematically and methodically to acquire, read and dissect all the works in that limited field. This period which started as we have shown in his Cambridge days and continued throughout his London and Oxford days, and intermittently through his travels, is the most important part of his life.

One would have hoped that Hogarth, Doughty's official biographer, would have concentrated more on these days than on the apparently more strenuous days of action in Arabia. Then nobody would have looked at Doughty as a man who lived fully for a couple of years, and then sat down to write of it, and went on all through his long life to chew the cud. It is here and not in Europe or Arabia that Doughty laboured hard to achieve his great

command of the language, and work out the components of what was truly called 'the stateliest prose of our generation'. Many critics have tried to trace it back to the influence of a certain given author or book, and to stress Doughty's debt to this or that writer or poet. Professor Elton stresses his debt to the "Authorized Version".(1) Sir Sydney Cockerell stresses his debt to Hakluyt - "the work that he studied most assiduously was Hakluyt's "Voyages". Hence the antique style...."(2) I must say I dislike that word 'hence', which betrays the narrow attitude of a critic who pins it down to the influence of one single book! J. Middleton Murry traces Doughty's style to an even earlier age than that of Hakluyt and the Authorized Version, where not only Shakespeare and Milton, but also the English Bible itself were of no influence.(3) Thus, periods and authors and books are tried, while Doughty's studies were so wide and so deep as to cover practically every side of the mental and literary activities of all theseauthors and all those books before the middle of the Seventeenth Century. It is now clear that this was no simple study of a mere handful of authors or books, or a casual admiration of one or two poets or prose-writers. This was something on a stupendous scale. The only case to be compared with is perhaps that of the studies of the young John Milton be-fore his travels to Italy, a complete all-inclusive study of the language from its early beginnings, from its early trickling drops of poetry and

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(1) O. Elton: "The English Muse" Pp. 397-8

(2) "The Living Age", CCCXXVII, 590

(3) "The Athenaeum", I, 150

and prose that gathered into the first streams and the various streams which gathered to make the mighty river and the mighty river itself until we come to the greatest strength in Spenser and the Golden Age.

Doughty was not a professional lexicographer or linguist. If he were, he would have studied the language scientifically, objectively, coldly. But he had emotions and was too much involved. His study was too utilitarian for him to stand aside and only notice and record. He studied language as a connoisseur would taste of the wine, examining every drop of it, comparing and classifying and grading and deciding which to discard and which to rescue from oblivion. He himself tells us that his interest was first kindled when he went to Norway, and started to learn Danish. But Danish was not the end in itself; it was a means towards a deeper understanding of his native tongue. It must have come handy when he started to study the earliest stages of English itself. Later in the course of his studies and travels he would learn other languages, some nearer home like 'Hollandish' and some farther afield like Arabic, but the aim is always the same - a better and deeper understanding of English itself.

But now in the late Sixties and in England, he was to start from scratch. From the different sources we have come to understand the way in which he worked. To study Anglo-Saxon, for instance, a language he had not studied at school or college or under any teacher or professor, he would acquire certain dictionaries and lexicons and by the help of these study the texts, stressing in particular the quality and functions of words,

copying in extensive notes the derivations and the genealogies, and the usages of some, and comparing their usages with other words in other languages. To study the Anglo-Saxon words he had Bosworth's Anglo-Saxon Dictionary[1] and to compare it with another language or learn it through the other language which he might have known better, he used the Psalterium Davidis, Latin-Saxon (Spelmann) 1640. Doughty would copy words and trace their ancestry and their derivations in long lists as if the aim was to memorize them and use them later. Then comes the second step, when he studies the language in comparison with more than one other language, and here he had the 'Septem Linguarum Dictionarius' (1540), which seems to have been a constant compendion of Doughty's for many a day. Last comes the third step, where Doughty studies the available literature of the language which he is tackling. Hogarth provides us here in his list with "Orosius, Anglo-Saxon, 1773" which was borrowed by Doughty from the Bodlian between November, 1869 and January, 1870. There was a copy of King Alfred's version of Orosius edited by T. Bosworth and published in London, 1859, among Doughty's own books at his death, and was found to be very much marked and annotated in pencil by Doughty. If we were to depend only on Hogarth, this would be the end of our certain knowledge of the extent of Doughty's Anglo-Saxon studies.

Fortunately we have other fuller sources. Most important and thorough, for example, were Doughty's preparations for the writing of "The Dawn in Britain", and one book which he has read and which was kept in his library after his death is Grant Allen's "Anglo-Saxon Britain"

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(1) Mentioned in Hogarth's list (Page 206)

(Early Britain Series, 1884), which has more than one chapter on the Anglo-Saxon language and literature and has quotations from its poetry and its prose and comparisons with modern English language. Among the books which Doughty spent a long time studying extensively and copying notes, still preserved at Caius is "The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle", which was probably begun in King Alfred's reign and carries English history from the Invasion of J. Caesar throughout the Middle Ages, and proves one of Doughty's fundamental ideas - the continuity of English prose from the Anglo-Saxon period to modern times. Another, the notes from which are also preserved at Caius, is the work of the first English translator of the Bible (who translated only the first seven books of the Old Testament), the 10th Century scholar Aelfric, the abbott of Eynsham. From his work Doughty has left thirteen full pages of copied words. The third important book studied fully by Doughty is Bede's famous "Ecclesiastical History of the English People", written originally in Latin and translated into Anglo-Saxon in the reign of King Alfred the Great. King Alfred himself is as central in Doughty's linguistic and literary studies as he is in his historical theory and his patriotic emotional structure. There is little doubt that Doughty had fully studied all the Anglo-Saxon works with which the name of Alfred is usually attached. Of these we have already mentioned the translation of the "Historial Adversum Paganos" by Paulus Orosius, a fifth century Latin writer, greatly influenced by the writings of St. Augustine, and we have mentioned Bede. But King Alfred's Laws are studied, and his name is given as an example to the contemporary generations of the

British people in Doughty's 'Prophetic Books'. Besides the Laws one must mention two other works of utmost importance, the translation of Pope Gregory's 'Curae Pastoralis' into the "Herd's Book" and the translation of thatmost famous of books in Medieval and Early Renaissance Europe, the 'De Consolatione Philosophiae" of Boethius, the Roman philosopher and statesman of the fifth and sixth centuries, whose influence on English thought and literature from Alfred to Chaucer to Queen Elizabeth is indeed inestimable. Wolfstan's sermons are not as important, but still they are mentioned in Doughty's excerpts. Thus it is pretty certain that Doughty had thoroughly studied almost all the existing Anglo-Saxon prose.

Of Anglo-Saxon poetry we know for certain that he has read and studied all the poems attributed by Bede to Caedman, whose miraculous bursting into song came as near as Doughty could wish to his own idea of the poet-prophet. Caedman is mentioned by name in Doughty's later poems, and a long episode in "Marscul" is indeed reserved for his experiences. Caedman and for that matter, Cynewulf, represent in Anglo-Saxon poetry the Christian religious side in contradistinctions to the older heroic side, perhaps of an ancient pagan origin. We have proof that Doughty knew very well the religious and meditative Anglo-Saxon poetry, such as that of Caedmon or Cynewulf or that of "The Dream of the Rood", the oldest surviving English poem in the form of a dream or vision, but I was not able to find any clear reference to the heroic side of Anglo-Saxon poetry, none to 'Beowulf' or 'The Seafarer' or to 'The Battle of Maldon'. Yet there could

be no proof more solid than the Anglo-Saxon quality of some of Doughty's poetry. Nobody who reads parts of "The Dawn in Britain" and "The Titans" would doubt that Doughty had studied and been influenced greatly by the heroic side of Anglo-Saxon poetry. It is perhaps pertinent to mention here that when Caedmon recites his part in 'Mansoul' Doughty makes him dwell as much on his heroic adventures in the war against the pagans from the North as on God's grace in helping him and aiding the defenders of Christianity and Britain.

If it is true then that Anglo-Saxon poetry and prose had their influence on Doughty, then it would not seem wrong to find here the real source of many qualities of Doughty's prose and poetry attributed sometimes to influences alien to the spirit of the English language. When W. Taylor discusses the brick-like quality of Doughty's words in the 'Arabia', and his almost libertine freedom of word-structure, the first source he thinks of is, quite naturally, Arabic. Yet here we have in Anglo-Saxon the same prominence given to the word-unit in the sentence, the same crystalized solidity of the chosen words, the same projection of the hard consonants and the same variety of stressed vowels which combine to give his sentences a marked ruggedness of surface. Here we have also the same freedom of word-structure helped no doubt by the distinguishing inflections which still existed in the Anglo-Saxon language as they exist in the language of the Arabs. Add to this another quality which is there in Doughty's poetry as it is in Anglo-Saxon poetry, and that is the usage of alliteration and assonance and of the musical stresses in the line instead of using rhyme. Anglo-Saxon influences seem then to be basic in the marking of

Doughty's works. Although the linguistic and literary influences are important, perhaps more subtle and consequently more important is the influence of his Anglo-Saxon studies on the world of his great epic 'The Dawn in Britain'. This is a point we will deal with later on but let us now refer only to Doughty's study of all Anglo-Saxon poetry and prose from its Germanic pagan beginnings in the adventures of half-historical, half-legendary heroes, who were not tribal or regional but were common to all the Germanic Races, and the development of that world gradually into a fusion of heathenism into Christianity and of the Germanic barbarian way of life with the Roman civilized world into the new world ofAnglo-Saxon patriotism and Anglo-Saxon Christian Britain. Transfer all that into an earlier age, one step back as it were in the history of the British Isles, and you will find exactly the world of "The Dawn in Britain". Even the apparent structural weaknesses of a Doughty's poem and the many episodes and the various digressions find their exact equivalent in the longer Anglo-Saxon poems.

Next comes the period we call Middle English, and here Doughty's studies are not less important. Hogarth's list is no great use to us here, for all the rest of the books he gives are products of the 15th and 16th Centuries. Yet one does not need any persuasion to include among Doughty's historical sources books like John of Trevisa's translation (about 1385) from the Latin of Ralph Higden's "Polychronicon" (1350) or William of Malmsbury's historical writings about heroes like Offa, whose name Doughty brings into "The Clouds", or the writings of Mathew Paris. More important than these

perhaps in the famous "Historia Regum Britanniae" of Geoffrey of Monmouth (about 1230). Geoffrey, a Welshman using Welsh sources like Gildas and Nennius and championing the Celtic Race must rank as one the ancestors of "The Dawn in Britain". Doughty deviates from Geoffrey's texture of history in general and keeps away, naturally in 'The Dawn' because its period comes before, and logically in all the rest of his works because he was not very much charmed by the world of romance. I mean the stories woven around King Arthur and his Round Table. The legendary Arthur fought against the Moors in Spain for the glory of Christianity, but the historical Arthur fought in Britain against the Anglo-Saxons for the preservation of his Celtic inheritance. Doughty perhaps could not base his work completely on legends and he would not choose a war of Celts against Anglo-Saxons, a kind of Civil War in Britain, when his 'message' was that of National unity and National pride. Whatever his reasons were, it is certain that the Arthurian legends had no great influence on his work. But that does not mean he has not read Geoffrey's work for he certainly has, even in its various texts. It is probable that he read Wace's French text, but certain that he studied thoroughly the alliterative verse of Layamon. But before we move on to verse, we should refer to the other prose works of the period which Doughty has certainly known. In his copybooks at Calais for example, there are notes taken from the 14th Century mystical and devotional writer Richard Rolle of Hampole. How could we say then that he has not used the writings of Rolle's follower and contemporary Walter Hilton? More influential than both and more famous is John Wyclif,

the earliest English religious controversialist and reformer, the attacker of the vices of the church, and the translator of the Bible, whose work was reviewed and studied in the active controversies of the Reformation, in which as we will show, Doughty was very much interested. Prose as well as poetry was studied methodically and meticulously as usual. Layamon's 'Erut' was one poem. Another important body of poetry is the great output of the age in the romances around Arthur, the Round Table and the Holy Grail. In certain points Doughty shows he is not far from the field, though as we have said, he does not give his attention to the Arthurian legends themselves. Joseph of Arimathea, the holy man of "The Dawn in Britain" is the subject of one of the English Romances of the age. Another poem was entitled "Arthur and Merlin", and Merlin the prophet is a favourite mouthpiece of Doughty's. Another important body of the poetry of this period most certainly produced here but recorded in a later age is the oral collection of ballads gathered in Joseph Ritson's famous books. Doughty copied a great number of songs and ballads from Ritson's "Ancient Songs and Ballads from the Reign of King Henry the Second to the Revolution" (London, 1829), on the cover of which he copied the lyric "Summer is icumen in", which found its place on the pages of 'The Clouds' (Page). To Ritson's book, Hogarth's list adds "Pieces of ancient popular poetry" and again 'Robin Hood' (collection of ancient poems, etc.) 12 vols, 1792, and indeed Robin Hood's Sherwood Forest poems are referred to in 'The Clouds'.(1) But prose, oral poetry of romances, all are crowned

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(1) The Clouds (Page 59)

in the great works, at the end of the period, of Langland, of Gower, and of Chaucer. That Doughty was an ardent admirer of Piers Plowman nobody denies, but the depth of his gratitude can be gauged not only by the apparent echoes of it in 'Mansoul', but also in the minute study of vocabulary, to be met with in pages and pages of his word-notes, which prove that Piers Plowman's influence is woven into the texture of Doughty's works. Gower is also an important name. Borrowings from his works are everywhere in Doughty's word-notes. In one patch of his copyings, Doughty has left us forty-seven pages of quotations copied from Gower. But the whole past of the English language and literature till the Fourteenth Century is crystallized not in Gower or Langland but in the works of Geoffrey Chaucer. We do not have to draw attention to the thoroughly absorbing studies of Chaucer in Doughty's works, because Doughty himself had never let go any chance where he could praise 'Dan Chaucer' as his great master. No one is praised more in Doughty's works than Chaucer except, perhaps Edmund Spenser. But Spenser comes later and because he comes later he includes Chaucer and moves forward, a long way further. Chaucer stands where he is at the end of the Fourteenth Century as a colossus embodying the best that was in English from the beginning and leading on to other triumphs that follow. When Doughty praises him, his praise is not directed only towards Chaucer the one and only poet, but also to Chaucer as the highest peak in a range. Most of these early studies were probably made in Cambridge, London and Oxford and on the

continent. When Doughty went into Arabia, he had with him some of Chaucer's works.(1) When he arrived at Bombay on his way from Arabia he asked to be given the rest of Chaucer's works as a loan. 'Travels in Arabia Deserta', the earliest of Doughty's great works is the one in which Chaucer's influence is at its highest. Not only in the texture and the style, not only in the rambling form, or in the irony, sarcasm and wit which his later works clearly lack, but also in the drawing of his characters the influence of Chaucer's great pilgrimage poem 'The Canterbury Tales' is paramount on the pages of Doughty's prose epic. It is important to record it here, because the influence of Chaucer on 'The Dawn in Britain' and the other poems is not as prominent or as fundamental as that of Spenser, except perhaps in the use of some clearly Chaucerian words. Doughty's wordnotes are full of Chaucerian words rescued from oblivion, and his copy of Chaucer's works, bequeathed after his death to the library at Caius College, a two volume edition in Renaissance script, is full of annotations and remarks in pencil on the margin of the various poems.(2) After Chaucer follows

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(1) A black-letter folio edition of Chaucer's 'Canterbury Tales' (the 1687 reprint of Thomas Speght's second edition (1602)). On the margin everywhere there are crosses, which show that Doughty had studied the tales well. In Doughty's 'Excerpts from Various Authors' there are quotations and excerpts from the Tales, and in particular, from 'The Knight's Tale'.

(2) Notice that at that time many poems later ascertained to be the work of other poets were attributed to Chaucer. The parts particularly [illegible] studied by Doughty, arranged according to his annotations on the margin, seem to have been: 1) The Testament of Love (now believed not to be by Chaucer), particularly the prologue and the third book. 2) The House of Fame, particularly the third book. 3) The Boethius. 4) The Romaunt of the Rose. 5) The Compleynte of Mars and Venus. 7) The Remedy of Love. 8) The Legend of Ariadne (from 'The Legend of Good Women'). 9) The Story of Thebes (no longer thought to be written by Chaucer). 10) Jack Upland (again not admitted by the critics now).

the studies in the works of Chaucer's successors and in particular the famous poets of Scotland. Barbour's 'Bruce', Blind Harry's 'Wallace', 'The King's Quair', Henryson's 'Fables' and his 'Testament of Cresseid', were all studied. But above all his careful studies go to the great poetry of Dunbar on one side, and to the earliest rendering of Virgil in English in Gavin Douglas' translation of the 'Aeneid'.

In the Fifeteenth Century, England was passing through the difficult period of Civil War. A bird's eye-view of the literature of the 15th and early 16th centuries would show it as an unimpressive ridge between the great heights of the 14th century and the later Sixteenth Century. But Doughty was not choosing periods or authors but studying the continuous development of language and literature. Consequently his interest and care given to the authors of this period was not less than those given to the earlier and later periods. This was the period when the old world of the Middle Ages begins to give way and the new world of the future begins to stir. Tudor peace reigned after the Civil Wars, and the triumph of English as the national language was complete. After Nationalism comes the surge towards wider spheres and the new winds of humanism began to blow from Europe, and the new art of printing helped towards the diffusion of interest in life and knowledge paving the way to the Reformation. England was stirred to its foundations, and a feeling of patriotism was kindled in the hearts, and a realization of the destiny of this land, and the role which the English were called on to play in the world, was born which was later to flourish into the great Elizabethan Age. All this complex move-

ment was diligently and carefully studied by Doughty in those earliest and most impressionable years of his life. Of his studies in language let us give the example of his studies in Lydgate. For boring as Lydgate is to the modern reader, Doughty found in his works an untapped wealth of language. His word-notes are full of quotations from Lydgate's various works. For whatever our opinion is on the value of Lydgate's literary works, nobody can deny that he has enriched the English language with many new words borrowed either from Latin or French. Doughty's word-notes are full of borrowings from the vocabulary of Lydgate's works, and in particular his huge work, "The Fall of Princes". In Doughty's copy books, the largest body of quotations come from Lydgate's works, first about 270 pages of his "Guy of Warwick", followed by his "Life of St. Edmund", and ended by two of his shorter poems. Another important Fifteenth Century name we meet in Doughty's studies is that of Caxton; and the diversity of Doughty's interests in Caxton's work is another proof that he was attempting to absorb all the different sides of the youthful days of English language and literature. Caxton's translations were an important part of the new interest in humanism and education, and were thus a part of a larger movement. But his main contribution was the introduction of printing into England. In 1477 he printed the first book ever printed in England - "Dictes and Sayings of the Philosophers". Doughty's interest in the art of printing seems no less important than his interest in Caxton's literary contributions. And if anyone were to study Doughty's handwriting, his tricks of the hand, and his devices of contraction of letters at the

end, one would find the influence of Fifteenth and Sixteenth Century handwriting prominent. Nor is it possible to discuss Doughty's peculiar punctuation without tracing it back to these early days of English printing. Another important "book" of the Fifteenth Century which Doughty had studied fully was the famous 'Travels of Sir Thomas Maundeville', which is indeed one of the books in Hogarth's list, and consequently was frequently mentioned as an influence on Doughty's 'Arabia Deserta' by various writers in general and by Annette McCormick in particular. Yet nobody mentions the four sheets of quotations made by Doughty in his copy books from 'Maundeville'. But another book more subtly similar to the 'Arabia' in many ways and never referred to by any Doughty critic is Reginald Peacock's "The Repressor Over Much Blaming of the Clergy". The author was a Catholic so mild in his defence of Catholic ways against the attacks of the Lollards, that he was himself convicted as a heretic. The book itself was indeed a linguistic tour-de-force, a one-man trial to enlarge the potentialities of the English language by inventing words, by remarkable sentence-constructions and odd inversions so much, so that it sometimes became puzzling and sometimes awkward. Although the 'Arabia' is infinitely more mature and greater, one cannot easily brush aside the belief that Doughty must have admired, studied and benefited from the strange dignity of the style of Peacock's book. This was a period of experimentation#, in which the writer was free to pursue almost any line to solve his own problems and create his own style unrestrained by any common style or shackled by any tradition, and it must have been fascinating to the groping mind of

Doughty in those early years. Yet the greatest prose work of the age does not seem to have had a lasting effect on his work, although it is pretty certain that he had studied it fully - I mean Sir Thomas Malory's Arthurian Compendium. We have already noticed that its contents, the Arthurian legends, were side-stepped by Doughty in his works. We must not forget that the Arthurian legends had their magic effect on later generations of English writers, generations consciously turned down by Doughty in his studies, of which his own generation had an inkling in Tennyson's famous 'Idylls of the King'. More important to Doughty were the pages of Skelton's works, where inspite of [illegible] that poet's loudness and bitter sarcasm, Doughty seems to have found a master of the English language. Skelton's works came into Hogarth's list, where it appears that Doughty had studied not only Skelton, but also Skelton's imitators.

Another very important product of the age, apparently studied fully by Doughty, is the body of mystery and morality plays collected in the famous four cycles. Just as poetry proceeded along the years from early works to the later more complicated products, drama also had its long development combining simple Pre-Christian native strains like the Maypole dances, and similar folk activities and mixing ~~together~~ these later on with cultural and religious influences from the continent to make up the ever-growing tide that flowed into the dramatic productions of the 15th and 16th and 17th centuries. As Doughty had studied the ways of life in the Celtic period in preparation for 'The Dawn in Britain', and as he studied the Anglo-Saxon works of Alfred and Caedmon, and the Robin Hood

literature, he also studied the earliest and latest manifestations of the dramatic spirit in England. He studied, for example, the Anglo-Norman miracle plays dated from the Twelvth[1] and the Thirteenth Centuries. He went on following their development into the fuller cycles of miracle and mystery plays of the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries. The later divisions of drama in morality plays and interludes were also studied fully, and still the later heights of drama in the Elizabethan and Jacobean periods. His studies in the dramatists from as early as John Heywood to as late as Davenant will be shown clearly even from a cursory look at Hogarth's list. But perhaps a greater proof will be shown by the influence of Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century drama on Doughty's works - particularly his later poems. He had no actual experience of the living theatre of his day, and he certainly never intended his later works for the stage. Yet the formal side of Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century drama had such a great effect on his imagination that he chose its form as the vehicle for his own thoughts. 'Adam Cast Forth' will be seen, in that light as some kind of passion play. 'The Cliffs' (A Drama of the Times), will be seen as a juxtaposition of two strains in Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century Drama. In its human part (Parts I, II, V) it is akin to the early native English comedy, and in its elvish parts (Parts III and IV) it emulates the pastoral lyrical strains of Sixteenth Century Drama (at its best in Shakespeare's 'Midsummer Night's Dream' and in the plays of Beaumont and Fletcher),

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(1) One of those plays is referred to later in the Chapter on 'Adam Cast Forth'.

and the pastoral plays and the Masques of the Seventeenth Century (at their best in Ben Jonson). 'The Clouds' again is indebted to the early drama, in that it follows the famous cycles of miracle plays. In form it is like a series of 'pageants', each showing a different scene of the cycle and each scene following the other in the chronological order of Carpenter's journey. 'Mansoul' is more akin to the world of morality plays, to 'Everyman', and the play called 'Mankind'(1). The literary influence of the mysteries, miralces and moralities and of the later Sixteenth and Seventeenth drama on Doughty's work cannot be denied, although it is clear that Doughty was no dramatist.

That brings us to the great complex commotions of the age, first in the Humanism and later in the Reformation. The earliest waves of Humanism, called at that time the 'New Learning' meant a revival of the studies and the learning of the 'new' Latin, and then later the introduction of Greek, and later still Hebrew. First comes the group in the first part of the reign of King Henry the 8th: of Groceyn and Lynacre, of Erasmus and Colet, and the group around Sir Thomas More. It is difficult to seperate the problems of culture in general, and literature and language in particular, or discuss by itself the new stirrings in the field of religion, attached to the various members of these distinguished authors of the age, but we need not unduly bother about that here. Doughty's studies included everything, and the width and the depth of his meticulous studies make it possible for us to disregard the difficulty. We have already mentioned Skelton's poetry, and Skelton was one centre of the whirlpool, at least

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(1) 'Mankind' is one of three plays found together in the famous Macro MS.

in the field of poetry. Sir Thomas More is certainly more central, yet his name is not mentioned in Hogarth's list. But there are indications that Doughty has read extensively most of the works of the Erasmus group, and the circle of More, (e.g. Heywood's books are in Hogarth's list), and the religious controversies in which More was a prominent contender, (against Tyndale, for example). So it is logical to expect him to have read the works of More. Concerning the works of Erasmus, Hogarth has made famous Doughty's words that he travelled to Holland in reverence to him and to Scaliger, but there are more solid proofs in the quotations Doughty has left. In his copy-books are long quotations from Erasmus, and again he quotes a long laudatory passage on Erasmus written by Ascham. Back to England, and we have in Hogarth's list all the works of John Heywood, the poet-dramatist and prose-writer of Sir Thomas More's circle. In a booklet of nineteen pages Doughty has copied long quotations from Heywood's works in general, and in particular from the 'Spider and the Fly', and 'The Four PP', from 'The Play of the Witches', from the 'Epigrams on Proverbs' and from the 'Dialogue'.

But Colet, More and Erasmus lead us directly from general culture to the heart of the religious clash - the greatest conflagration of the age. Colet, More and Erasmus on the Catholic side were matched if not mastered by Tyndale, Latimer, Cranmer and Morton on the Protestant side. And all the works of both sides were studied fully by Doughty. Hogarth lists a 'collection of 16th and 17th Century theological tracts' and 'A Remedy for Sedition (1536)' and Morton's 'Romish Iniquitie' (1646) and

the 'Clavi Trabeles (1661)' and Sir Edwin Sandy's 'Europae Speculum (1632)', which are attacks of various intensity on Roman Catholic ways. But Doughty's copy-books indicate an even fuller study of these religious clashes. A great deal is copied from Tyndale, in particular from his 'Answer' to Sir Thomas More. In one patch we have long lists of words copied from letters, one written by Parker, and another written to Queen Mary, a third letter from Cranmer to Cromwell, and quotations from Cranmer's works, and the writings of John Foxe, the author of the famous 'Ecclesiastical History', from John Bale the author of 'Scriptorum Illustrium Majoris Brytanniæ..'. An important number of quotations gathered in one other collection come from Latimer, Ascham, Smith and Thomas Watson. Thus the study of these religious pamphlets, and religious sermons, and theological discussions become a part of his important studies in the language and literature of the age(1). Neither Latimer nor Cranmer finds a way to the list of Hogarth. Yet their names pop up every now and then in his word-notes, which shows that Doughty was studying not only the contents, but also the language, and although it is clear that his studies included the Catholic-Protestant and the later High Church - versus - Puritan controversies we do not know for sure if his readings extended to the more popular controversies of the Martin Marprelate pamphlets. Hogarth's list gives us Lily's 'Pappe with a hatchet' which was an anti-Martinist pamphlet. Another kind of controversy which Doughty was possibly more interested in was the controversy around the translations into English of the Holy Book.

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(1) A. McCormisk's Chapter IV discusses Doughty's readings in the religious clashes of the age and their effect on the style of the 'Arabia'.

Because of the importance of this side of his studies we shall deal separately with the various translations of the Bible later on, but what we want to point out here is not the religious side or the political side of this problem of translation, but the linguistic side of it. The main point becomes the ability or inability of the vernacular to become an adequate vehicle, and the amount of Latin or French or other alien words to be borrowed and incorporated. Tyndale and More and Parker all had their hand in the controversy, but the one name never mentioned before, is that of Sir John Cheke, whose name comes among the authors quoted in Doughty's copy-books, and who tried to use English in its native purity, uncorrupted by borrowings from alien sources in his versions of St. Matthew and part of St. Mark. And that leads us to the very important names of Sir Thomas Elyot and Roger Ascham. For Hogarth's list alone gives us six different works of Sir Thomas Elyot. In his copy-books Doughty has pages and pages of words and phrases copied from Elyot's 'Latin-English Dictionary', which was used by Doughty all through his life. The other book of Elyot used extensively is the 'Book of the Governor' which not only satisfies Doughty's interest in language but also his interest in education. Roger Ascham's name is not mentioned in Hogarth's list. Yet in the wordnotes Ascham's name is frequently met with, and in his copy-books quotations from Ascham's on a variety of subjects abound. It is clear that Ascham's works were most interesting to Doughty. His 'Toxophilus' is cast in the form of a dialogue about archery in the same way in which Walton later on wrote about Angling and which Doughty himself emulated

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in 'The Cloude' (In The Valley of The Dove). Ascham's reference to Chaucer in 'Toxophilus' as 'our Englyshe Homer' is similar to Doughty's references, and the ardent patriotism of the work must have appealed to him very much. Again Ascham's other book 'The Schoolmaster' like Elyot's 'Book of the Governor' is a contribution to education, and as such another important addition to Doughty's studies on that subject. But the main interest as usual is that of language, and words copied from the book are abundant in Doughty's word-notes. Indeed in the word-notes of Doughty; Elyot, Lydgate and Ascham are the most frequently repeated names of the Tudor Age.

Another part of the linguistic heritage of the age studied carefully by Doughty were the translations into English from other languages. The earliest is Thomas North's 'Lives of the Noble Grecians and Romans (1579)' from Plutarch by way of French. Next comes Castiglione's 'Libro del Cortegiano' translated by Thomas Hoby in 1561, from which Doughty copies some parts in his copy-books. Last and perhaps most important come the translations of Chapman to which we will refer later. These translations were meant to enrich the language and widen the scope of knowledge but they also aimed at educating the ruling classes. These were indeed the aims behind most of the writings of the age and particularly in the sphere of history. History was meant to teach. An ardent Patriotism was behind the revival of interest in historical and antiquarian studies. Doughty studied it all and learned the lesson. In 'The Dawn in Britain', Humphrey Lloyd is mentioned. Leyland is copied from in

the copy-books, and there is little doubt that he had read Harrison, Smith, Bale and Harman. Raphael Hollinshed's 'Chronicles' provide long quotations in the copy-books, and Camden's great work, the 'Britannia' in its Latin version (1586) and in its English version (1610), in Gibson's edition, is used in the copy-books.

And that leads us to the great Elizabethan-Jacobean period, the output of which Doughty has so clearly and thoroughly studied and absorbed that every reader of his works would easily recognize the debt. That is why all we want to do here is to sum it up, and refer to the various authors and various works, to which there are references in Doughty's writings. Of the dramatists, for instance, Hogarth's list gives the names of Lilly, Lodge, Greene, Chapman, Thomas Heywood, Massinger, Marston and Davenant. Doughty's copy-books include long quotations in a booklet of six sheets from Lilly's 'Euphues', and two sheets of quotations from Massinger's 'Emperor of the East', one page from Ben Jonson's 'Entertainment', a complete copy of Chapman's translations, all with the other translations of Hesiod and Virgil..., and various notes from 'The Robin Hood Plays', and plays by Munday and Chettle and brief quotations from Thomas Heywood's 'English Traveller' and his 'Life of Ambrosius Merlin' and Marston's 'Dutch Courtezan', and also quotations from the works of King James. From the poetry of the age Hogarth's list mentions 'The Mirror for Magistrates' by Baldwin, and Heywood's 'Merlin' and the Earl of Surrey's translations from Virgil and also Gavin Douglas' translations of the same. Hogarth also mentions the works of Raleigh and Percy's Reliques (3 vols.) and Spenser. In the copy-books to these the name of Michael Drayton is added. But there is no doubt

whatever that the whole output of poetry from Sydney and Spenser to Drayton, Daniel, Warner and Campion and the Fletchers and Jonson and Donne was studied fully. To these we must add the various collections of lyrics and songs for which the age was famous. Doughty's 'The Clouds'(1) has an episode which has a direct bearing on what seems to me to have been the famous 'England's Helicon' (1600) one of the finest anthologies in which poems by Sidney, Spenser, Drayton, Lodge, Peele and Shakespeare were gathered and which had in it Marlowe's famous pastoral poem 'Come live with me' to which Doughty again has a particular reference(1). And as Chaucer being on the highest crest of the wave which started so long ago, was chosen by Doughty as the representative of all the forces that went into the making of his art, so was Spenser, the greatest name among all the poets (non-dramatic authors) of the age. And as much as the age is superior to that of Chaucer, Doughty's reverence for Spenser and his praise of his art and the art of his age is greater than his praise for Chaucer and his age.

But his meticulous studies went further than the age of Spenser right into the Jacobean age. In his copy-books there are passages copied from the works of King James himself, and the works of the post-Spenserian poets, like Drayton and Daniel. Campion and Chapman were carefully studied. Nor can we forget the new geographical discoveries of the age, reflected in the great works of Raleigh, of Hakluyt, of Purchas and Edward Hale.

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Most of these copy-books and note-books and word-notes of Doughty are indeed the work of those early years of his life, but they mostly bear also the date of his last revision. In most cases it is 1907, the period in which he was occupied with the writing of his Prophetic Books: 'The Cliffs' and 'The Clouds'. Thence the effect of the readings on these books is particularly marked.

Nor canwe forget the consummation of the philosophical knowledge of the age in the pages of Bacon's works or the Doughty-like personality of the great Sir Thomas Browne, in whose works, as in the pages of 'Mansoul', the conflict between science and religion is overshadowed in the greater realization of the relation between them, and in the fusion of both in a spirit of gentle humanity, tolerating all and reconciling all, and a brand of Christianity which, like Doughty's, is able to expand gradually until it includes all faiths of all good men in a charitable human gentleness, and where Faith and Reason are not opposed but united, and pagan gods find a place in the religious pantheon, and everything is reconciled within the Christian frame. There is nothing to show that Doughty, as far as I can see, has read Burton's 'Anatomy of Melancholy' or Hobbes 'Leviathan', although it is improbable that he would have left them aside. Of religious writings we have not mentioned Hooker's great 'Ecclesiatical Polity' which breathes, as far as the age could go, a spirit of liberal enlightenment, in a belief in reason, although his 'Reason', like that in 'Mansoul', comes from God and provides a means through which men must achieve worthy ends.

Doughty has, however, arrived at the age where the gradual building of the English Nation in general and English language and literature in particular have virtually been completed. From now on his studies are more exculsive, and we need not trace, and cannot with the same degree of certainity, follow his readings. For example we have his authority in 'The Prophetic Books' to show that he has read the works of Donne, but we cannot tell if he has known the works of the Metaphysical poets, the

followers of Donne, or the works of the Cavaliers. We also have his quotations in his copy-books from the works of Isaac Casaubon, and we have the copy of Walton's works which Doughty owned at his death, but we do not know if he had studied fully, for instance, the works of Jeremy Taylor. We know for sure that he has studied Izaak Walton's 'Compleat Angler' and his 'Lives', but we do not know if he had studied Thomas Fuller's 'History of the Worthies of England'. What he has started to study thoroughly has come to an end, the longest and most arduous of all studies in the field of linguistic and literary preparation, starting from the birth of a language until the maturity and full blossoming of the language, the literature, the culture and the civilization of the Race. Doughty had started it while he was still an undergraduate and was still at it when he left England for Holland and Europe in 1870. In that not unduly long period of preparation, alone without a tutor or helper, he spanned the linguistic and literary centuries from 'Beowulf' to the Seventeenth Century, and from King Alfred's reign to that of Charles I. And the intensity of it all shows at its fullest and most glaring example in the case of one book, which takes the pride of place in any studies of Doughty's works - the Bible. For the 'Bible' in English is as old as Wyclif in the 14th Century, and its last Authorized Version (1611) was the noblest prose of the 17th Century. Doughty was an ardent student of the various texts in between. He has carefully studied the Bible in his earliest days, and has known it well in his father-rector's house. But it is not as the foundation of Christian belief that he or we are concerned with it now, but as his golden means of travelling up and down

the streams of the English language in its different stages. First comes the Wycliffite version of the 14th Century, and although that was an early attempt, a cruder translation from the Latin of the Vulgate and not from the Greek sources, Doughty gave it the usual care and scrutiny. Thus also he treated the succession of versions in the Sixteenth Century from that of Tyndale (1530-34) to that of Coverdale (1535), and the series of 'official' translations from that composite version called 'Matthew's Bible' (1537) to Cromwell's 'Great Bible' (1539), the version revised again by Coverdale. Then comes the reign of Mary, when the Calvinist version translated abroad and published in Geneva and known as 'The Geneva Bible' came into existence. Later in the reign of Elizabeth came another revision of the 'Great Bible' which was issued in 1568 and was called 'The Bishops' Bible'. Then at last comes the 'Authorized Version of King James' reign in 1911. All these versions seem to have been fully studied and sometimes consciously exploited by Doughty. The question about which had the greater influence is not in my opinion as important as the realization that each version was fully studied and had an influence on Doughty's works. We see the influence of the 'Authorized Version' for example on the style of the 'Arabia', which tempted Annette McCormick, limiting her work on the 'Arabia' only, to maintain that he preferred the 'Authorized Version'. But one can detect the influence of Tyndale's rich fluency and accurate simplicity and vigour in 'Adam Cast Forth'[1]. All in all Doughty has known them all and was

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(1) The beautiful "And is not Adam this the death?" (P. 22) for example recalls Tyndale's "die the death".

influenced greatly by it all. We can be pretty sure that he has known even the side-issues of Bible translation, like the eccentric puritan renderings of Sir John Cheke, but we are not so sure that he has used the Catholic translations like that of the Rheims New Testament of the Douay. He might have known them, for he knew the Bible even in languages other than English. Indeed he has used the Bible in learning other languages by comparing the version of the 'Book' in those languages with the English version. In the Bible he found thus his golden key to the study of his chosen foreign languages, and his concentration on its study became more intense. But of all this Hogarth's list mentions only the 'Bishops' Bible' (1568). Among Doughty's books preserved at Caius College there is a copy of the New Testament, printed in Amsterdam in 1840, in Dutch, which he must have used in learning the Dutch language, and another copy of the New Testament in Welsh, "Testament Newydd ein Harglwydd a'n Hiachawdwr", which shows that he was trying to learn Welsh. Anglo-Saxon we have already referred to, and there again the religious writings and the religious poetry in Anglo-Saxon must have been his way to the learning of the language. Of Greek he must have at least had a taste in his University days, but his readings in that language seem to have widened considerably and deepened. There are pages full of Greek quotations written in Greek in Doughty's own handwriting, and Homer's epics and Hesiod's works were certainly known to him. But lesser names like those of Sappho, Tyrtaios and others occur in his poems. Latin was also a language he must have started to know in

Cambridge, but later studies show a considerable expansion. It is not only that his preparations for 'The Dawn in Britain', where the world of Rome looms large, necessitated an extensive course of reading in the Latin authors, but Doughty seems to have studied Latin poets and Latin prose-writers also. Virgil was read in the original as well as in the translations of Gavin Douglas and the Earl of Surrey. All the works of Cicero one by one were arranged on the shelves of his library and are still preserved at Caius College library. St. Augustine's 'De Civitate Dei' in two volumes was also there, and there was also the works of Terence and Ovid. There were also other ways of using Latin. One way was the study of other languages and other works of literature by means of the comparison of the various texts. 'The Fables of Aesop' were studied in the Latin text of Phaedrus. Greek and Latin are linked together with the 'Oracula Sibyllina'. Of the modern languages of Europe we have Doughty's word that he knew Danish in his early travels to Norway, and he seems to have studied Dutch, and to have acquired a little knowledge of German, but I am unable to estimate how well he knew these languages or if he ever read extensively in the literature written in them. Of the Romance languageshe seems to have acquired a little knowledge of Spanish in his travels in Spain, and he certainly read the great authors of Spanish Literature and in particular the works of Cervantes. Yet with the Spaniards, on board the ship, he talked in French, which shows that his Spanish must have been limited. French was a language he must have known fairly well. Hogarth provides us with the information that he had spent a short time with his tutor in France in his

young days. But French also was used in his later more extensive studies. In his copy-books there are extensive quotations from the prose and poems from Du Bellay and Ronsard. Among his books preserved at Caius College library, there is in French 'Confucius; Confucius et Mencius, les quatres livres de philosophie morale et politique de la Chine', which was translated into French by M. G. Pauthier and published in Paris in 1862, and which Doughty has used for the Confucius episodes in 'Mansoul'. Italian comes next, and it is probably safe to say that Doughty knew it well, for Italy was as much a home for him as England was in the long years of his married life. The pages of his note-books are full of long patches of Italian words and phrases. Hogarth (P. 142-3) gives a copy of a triffle of a macaronic poem he wrote to his daughter in Italian. Among the books he owned there was a copy of Terence's works in Italian translated by Tomistocle Gradi and published in Livorno, 1876. Even Greek literature was read through Italian. Among his books, there were two volumes of a work called 'Istoria della letteratura Greca' by Carlo Ottofredo Müller, published in Florence in 1858-9. Homer's 'Odyssey' was read in the Italian translation of Paolo Maspero, 'Odissea di Omero Ero e Leandro di Museo', which was published (3rd edition) in Florence, 1871, and from which Doughty got one of the two mottoes for 'Mansoul'. Next comes the Oriental languages, and here Hebrew is a language he must have studied carefully. Hebrew was the source of the religion of his race, and as such was at the back of many of the books and authors he knew well. Hebrew was met with directly sometimes and indirectly other times in his studies of the various

versions of the English Bible. But Doughty did not stop there. One of Doughty's books preserved at Caius is Robert Young's 'Analytical Concordance of the Bible', Edinburgh, 1879, in which every word is given under its original Greek of Hebrew. Again in the same library we have his copy of the Old Testament in Hebrew, with Doughty's own notes on the margin of the early parts of Genesis. In front of 'Harisuth' for example he wrote, "waste, empty, darkness, deep" (see the use of the word in "Adam Cast Forth"). And we have one still existing testimony of Doughty's care for Hebrew continuing in his later period in a copy he owned of S. P. Tregelles' "Hebrew Reading Lessons with Grammar...." the 11th edition published in London, 1906. But that last book and the fairly late period in which it was used betray one other fact besides Doughty's interest in Hebrew, and that is his need up to his later years of either continually reading or at least refreshing his mind on the elements of Hebrew grammar. For his studies in all these languages were on the margin, as it were, secondary to his concentrated studies of the English language. But this problem of the importance of these foreign languages in Doughty's studies and in Doughty's works does not arise as much as it does in the case of Arabic and the 'Arabia Deserta'. This is a problem we will deal with later, but Arabic must be dealt with here in comparison with the other languages studied by Doughty. It is imperative to notice one or two very important points here. For Doughty before he went to Arabia, had travelled for a long period across various countries of Europe where his interest was roused for more studies and more knowledge. But each of these European countries

was in a general way included in his plans before his departure from England. Dutch, Danish, German, French and Italian were very much relevant to his studies in England and for the execution of his future plans. Hebrew was probably also part of the plan, but Arabic decidedly was not. When he drifted in his travels in Arabic-speaking lands in North Africa he could not speak one Arabic word. When he later arrived in Palestine and travelled in Egypt and went across Sinai, the beginnings of Christianity, the religion of his country and race, in these lands was borne in his mind, but Arabic was not a part of it. In Hogarth we are told that he was unable to carry on a simple conversation with a Bedouin in Sinai. Then he heard of Madain Saleh and decided to go into Arabia, and Arabic became essential for his purposes. For about two years he concentrated in his all-consuming way on acquiring a working knowledge of the language. Then he started on his historic journey where he lived always with the Arabs and was by necessity forced to speak Arabic all the time. Although that period was so important in Doughty's life and experiences that it left him a lasting influence, we should not exaggerate its effect to a point where it overshadows the more important, more fundamental issues of his life. 'Arabia Deserta' is undoubtedly a masterpiece, and the influence of the Arabic language on it is tremendous, but we think it wrong and lopsided to consider the Arabic colour with which its style is painted more important than the deeply laid foundations which were laid in earlier years and are there in the great structure of the work. The field of English language and literature is wide and extensive. Doughty was born to it, breathed

its air, and spent long years in an exhaustive, extensive, all-inclusive study of it. The field of Arabic language and literature is much wider and more extensive than the field of English language and literature. It is centuries older. Its vocabulary is so wide that no Arab can today use it all or learn it all. Enough to say that there are about fifty words for the 'lion' in Arabic, and the lion does not exist on the soil of the Arabian peninsula! But there is in Arabic another important fact which makes the study of it infinitely harder than English. For Old English and Middle English are earlier stages of English living still on the pages of the great authors who wrote in them, but as living speech or as written language they are used no more. Modern English, spoken or written, has lost the inflections and become for all its diversity a new unified language. Not so is Arabic. For the language of the Koran recorded fourteen centuries ago is still very much alive in writing as well as in speech, while the spoken language changing with the centuries has come to lose its inflexions and modify its structure, and live <u>at the same time</u> with classical Arabic influencing it and being influenced by it in turn. And Doughty came to the Arab lands, a grown-up man, developed already and moulded in the ways of his own language and literature. In the Lebanon he was taught Arabic by a tutor, and one would expect him to learn the usual mixture of classical Arabic and colloquial Arabic (in the Lebanese dialect) which would help him to acquire a <u>working</u> knowledge of the language. Then he went to Damascus, and one would expect him to know something about the Syrian dialect which was similar to the Lebanese dialect of his teacher. And then he went to

Arabia. But in Arabia he did not even visit at ease the lands he has visited. Weary of body and soul, his experiences and his field were necessarily limited. I am not trying to belittle the worth of what he has done, for it is indeed a miracle that he was able to bring out all this wealth and depth of knowledge, but facts are facts and the fact is that he has visited only a corner of a corner of the Arabian Peninsula. He has visited the North of the Hijaz in Madain Salch, El-Ally, Khaybar and Teyma and the North of Nejd (in Hayil, El-Kassim, Boreyda and Aneyza). It is possible to maintain that these were examples similar in everything to the rest of the land, and that in meeting members of various tribes from other parts of Arabin, he was able to give a representative image of the whole. We are not contesting that, but it hardly refutes the limitations of his linguistic experiences[1]. Yet Walt Taylor in his wonderful article on the style of the 'Arabia' maintains that Arabic is indeed the source of vigour and virility of the style of Doughty there. That is in my opinion an exaggeration. For Doughty could not have known other than the spoken speech of Northern Nejd. This must have filled him with the admiration he shows on the pages of the 'Arabia'. He admired the Arabian's <u>way of speaking</u>, the modulation of the voice, the stress naturally given to every word, the prominence given to the consonants, the full quality of the vowels. He admired the outspokenness of the Arab, and the fact that the tongue is the direct expression of the heart. Thoughts, emotions,

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(1) Read Doughty's own story about the limited vocabulary of his Bedouins in A.D. I, 354.

feelings and sensations all are poured into words as directly and as quickly as the Arab can. And what he says represents the whole sum of his personality, his qualities and his experiences. If he is wise, the natural wisdom of his race and nation, comes quickly in the full vigour of his manliness. The words then carry the 'sap of human wisdom'. And the Arabs who were naturally not interested in abstractions of thought and Metaphysics would not use, nor know how to use if they wanted to, ethereal unsubstantial words. They used solid brick-like words related to and expressive of solid objectives and real emotions. And Doughty was all admiration for all that because that was what he himself was aiming at. Walt Taylor says that when Doughty heard the Arabs speak 'pure' Arabic, "it took such hold on his imagination that he wanted to write 'pure' English in the manner of 'pure' Arabic. For this purpose he had to create an English language for himself in which the word should be the unit of speech and writing.... For this reason he made his own lists of words good to use..." But this depends upon an assumption, which is difficult to prove and unlikely to have been the case - that Doughty's lists of words were made <u>after</u> his Arabian journey. The long list of books we have discussed, and authors we have enumerated and the number of languages Doughty had studied <u>before</u> he ever thought of going to Arabia prove the opposite of what Walt Taylor maintains. The crucial point of Doughty's development was reached a long time before he left England. While he was still an undergraduate he had turned his back on contemporary English Literature and went earlier to the beginnings

of the literature of his country and followed its language to what was to him its golden age. In Arabia he found something like that which he had read and imagined, but in another different language and another different milieu, at work; so his admiration was the result and not the reason for his choice. The influence of the example of Arabic is not to be neglected but it is wrong to give it as the main reason. In Anglo-Saxon language and literature, he found traces of the pre-Christian oral heroic age of Germania, where the freshness of their life and the manliness of the warriors were expressed in direct solid stressed words, where abstractions and Metaphysics were alien to the thought of the people and to the songs of the bards, and where the sap of human wisdom and the gist of human experience were clearly there. There were no elisions and no contractions and no cockney mumblings. Consonants were clearly pronounced and vowels were given their due.

"It is the strange consonant combinations of which", wrote Gavin Bone about Anglo-Saxon poetry, "we have no specimens in modern English which seem to us savage and uncouth". "We have lost a number of the thick or splashy consonants", he says again, "and we have a number of little words nowadays that patter along contentedly, and get in the way or do their best to ensure that majesty and naturalness shall never in future join together in poetry". Doughty was sure that 'majesty and naturalness' could again join together in English, and started to pave the way towards them before he went to Arabia. In earlier poetry he found a strong vigorous spirit. Words were 'strong and had character'. Words

were units to be recognized and grouped into a whole and a pattern, not as Doughty found them in modern English speech fused together into a medley of sound and mixture of letters. Words like those would make a vigorous lively rough and tumultuous style, and in the words he traced through old English and Middle English and Modern English he found words living and continuously living until they send their deep roots into the past of the race, and the experiences of men, and consequently stand as a testimony to the continuity of life and the genius of the language and the long history of the race. He was not in need of 'pure' Arabic to teach him to choose 'pure' English, for as long ago as Sir John Cheke and Tyndale, he found ancestors insisting on the purity of their English tongue. Nor was he in need of a feeling for what Walt Taylor calls 'the semantic' quality of Arabic because he already had used the lexicons of Elyot, Ascham and More. On the choice and election of words all European writers on style from Aristotle to Julius Caesar to Ben Jonson and Matthew Arnold had something to say. On the freedom of 'word-structure', Arabic on the face of it might have had the greatest influence on Doughty's work. For the 'Arabia' being the first work we have, and being itself written under the shadow of the Arabian example, it could be said that it is an Arabian product. What might make it more plausible again is the fact that Arabic has almost unchecked freedom of word-structure in its sentences because it is a highly inflectional language, while modern English, being mainly an uninflectional language, keeps to a rigid pattern of words. But even there we forget that Doughty had already decided to neglect the straitjacket of fixed word-arrangement

which made the English of his day so monotonous and so lifeless in his ears and to go back to an earlier period when the ways of the English language were not yet finally fixed, and when the author was free to arrange the way he liked the bric-a-brac of words in the sentence, and when the writer was free to choose his words, and to choose the ways of arranging his words - not the wave that built the great Shakespearean miracle, but the two mounting constructive waves, the first which flowed to its highest point in Chaucer, and the second which culminated in the poetry of Spenser. But then someone might point at the purely Arabic usages of the 'Arabia', and the answer to that would surely be to show that nothing in the 'Arabia' is, linguistically speaking purely Arabic, to show that what is 'Arabic' sometimes shows the limitations of Doughty's knowledge of Arabic, and to show that the 'Arabic' elements in the book are moulded into the essentially English text, until they become naturalized English. To use Arabic elements is no proof because Doughty has given himself the right 'to use any word which served his purpose, whether that word were current or obsolete, or a dialect word or a colloquialism; and where existing words failed he made new ones from English roots, or Latin, or French or Arabic; or he gave a new meaning, where that was convenient, to an existing English word'. (Walt Taylor: Doughty's English, P. 11). Doughty had regained the freedom which was the birthright of the poet or the prose-writer before the fixing of the rules of English composition in the Elizabethan Age. He had used his freedom in the essentially national world of 'The Dawn in Britain'. He used it to borrow from the semitic languages in 'Adam Cast Forth'. He used it to borrow from the Germans in

'The Cliffs' and from contemporary English dialects in 'The Cliffs' and 'The Clouds' and he used it to borrow from Anglo-Saxon in episodes in 'Mansoul'. The Arabic elements in the 'Arabia' should be treated as fresh injections to invigorate the English body of his work, and not as the whole pattern of the work itself. In all his studies Doughty's main occupation was the English language itself. Dutch, German, Arabic and Hebrew were all used to strengthen the trends of a course already chosen and defined within the field of English language and literature itself. That is the only solid explanation which would make a harmonious whole of Doughty's works, and would make the process from the Arabian colouring of the 'Arabia' to the Anglican 'purity' of the 'Dawn in Britain', to the 'elemental' directness of the 'Adam Cast Forth', to the discursive variety of the 'Prophetic Books', to the rock-like solidity of 'The Titans' and to the all-inclusive virtuosity of 'Mansoul', a steady progressive but constantly consistent movement. Otherwise the 'Arabian Nature' of the style of 'Arabia Deserta' will be impossible to reconcile with the lack of it in the purely English style of 'The Dawn in Britain' which immediately followed it. It smacks of the opinion that Doughty's only worthwhile work is the 'Arabia Deserta', an opinion which we consider utterly wrong. It is abundantly clear that the whole course of Doughty's development was clearly charted before he began to write his books. What he could not swallow in the literature of England in the middle of the Nineteenth Century could be summed up easily in the divorce of literature from life, which he felt was enervating both, in the divorce of literature from

action which made it lifeless and monotonous, and the tendency of the poets to create a false world of their own, in a haze of abstractions, or theories, or a dreamy twilight atmosphere, which showed its most prominent manifestations in Swinburne. Doughty's cure was a movement in the opposite direction. To get rid of the personal problems of the poet he tried to separate himself from his work and give always an objective world. To keep away from the abstract world of metaphysics and theories his work always deals with action and continuous movement. To keep away from the hazy twilight atmosphere, his poetry breathes always of the clearness of a sunny day, or the solid touchable world of night, but never of the half-awakened unstable fringe between the two. Even his dreams are really living visions. Literature to him was not a drug doping both writer and reader removing them into a non-existent world of hallucination but a hard solid tool with which the self-willed poet tries to influence, to guide and to teach the conscious reader into a better life. Thus instead of luring the reader into sleep, he needs to keep him always awake, always conscious, always on guard. Thus it was natural for Doughty to repudiate the monotony of the English sentence, and tryed to set himself free from even the syntactical rules of the language taken for granted by the poet and the reader. To shock the reader into consciousness became the cornerstone of Doughty's work. Instead of smoothly welding the word into the sentence, and the sentence into the paragraph or the stanza, and both these into a harmonious melodious whole, it became imperative for him to break the monotony at every step. The words stand out as it were in defiance, as units to be recognized and felt by themselves.

The words are so abnormally arranged in the sentence that the reader must always keep on guard if he is to understand and enjoy. No group of sentences is similar in construction or in shape or in length to the following group, and thus no strict stanza-form is allowed in poetry;[1] Rhyme also, if followed regularly, works for a regular effect. So rhyme itself is generally dispensed with. Other means are treated in Mid-Nineteenth Century spelling. Doughty sometimes changes it so slightly, perhaps to render the sound of the word more faithfully, but certainly to shock his reader into wakefulness. Punctuation is another, and it is generally different from the one the eye of the reader is accustomed to, but it always shocks the reader into questioning and querying. In the later poems, the syllables are unduly stressed, sometimes the ones the reader is not accustomed to stress, and sometimes even the ones the reader is accustomed to stress! Whatever the state of wakefulness of the reader is, the poet in Doughty insists on a greater degree of wakefulness and care. Language and literature for him were no luxurious pastime, but fundamental factors in a healthy life of humanity.

But to be master of his art, he had to study the language and literature of England and exploit it fully. And it was logical that he who was aiming at complete freedom on the part of the poet, and who turned his back on the normal rules of syntax governing a Nineteenth Century writer,

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(1) This explains why Doughty, who professes to be the faithful disciple of Spenser, and who tried to emulate all Spenser's ways, never tries to follow one of the most important legacies of the master - the nine-line Spenserian stanza.

would not choose the essentially regular poetry of the Restoration and the Eighteenth Century as his model. It was natural for him to travel further back. And he discovered that the change came, even though gradually, in the Seventeenth Century. Before it the language was in the process of formation, and the writer or poet was free to choose his own line. The language and literature were passing through a series of transitional periods, before they settled down to the regularity of a well-established institution. The common style on which every individual writer would play his slightly different variations was not decided upon yet. Every writer had to solve his own problems first and create his own idiosyncratic style. And that situation suited Doughty best. That is why his choice of the early periods of English was logical and in a way inevitable, and the study of Arabic or Hebrew or Greek only complementary.

Yet the cherished freedom of the writer had more sides to it than the simple problem of syntax or style. One very important side of it was the 'form' of his works. The classical mould of a work of art was, for example, undoubtedly out of the question. No finesse and no polish, and no organically finished form, but a rambling discursive form suited him best. The logical organic structure which imposes a pattern on both the writer and the reader was out of the question, alien to his nature, contrary to his aims, and alien, as he discovered later in his studies, to the nature of the English language and the genius of the English race. Thus the form of his work is nearer the looseness of form in pre-Shakespearian plays, or the superficial formlessness of the works of Langland and Lydgate, or the picaresque novels of Charles Dickens. Apparently

the work is made up of short scenes, and disconnected episodes and a consecutive number of digressions tied together through a barely discernible thread of a character or a journey or a vision. Yet all in all they work out a unified effect, and a repeated stress laid always upon, though always in a slightly different manner, on the same theme of the work. Thus the effect is more of quantity than quality, of repetitions rather than organic growth, and one is given to sudden changes of mood and atmosphere and sometimes to sudden unexpected turns. The stops, for example, in almost all his works, come unexpectedly. To the last minute the poet reserves for himself complete unchecked freedom, the freedom to shock and always keep awake his reader. Thus he came to write his works. Let us follow him to each of his works.

Doughty's diversity of interests, which we have referred to in Chapters I and II, shows itself at its fullest in his first major enterprise, the travels and the book on the travels, in Arabia Deserta. When he crossed the Channel into Europe, he had in him the benefits of his studies in geology, archaeology and sociology, his readings in philosophy, his studies in language and literature, and his interest in the factors which went into the making of the personality and the civilization of his country and race. When he travelled everywhere in Europe and crossed the Mediterranean to North Africa, and went to Egypt, Sinai, Syria and Palestine, he was at the same time a scientist - a geologist, an archaeologist and a sociologist - and a man of letters, and a seeker for more knowledge and human wisdom.

He was absolutely confident, and sure of his own abilities, absolutely bent on doing some service for the glory of his own country and race. Although he had in mind the undefined idea of an epic on the early history of his England, he was for the time being completely free to embark on any new adventure or novel endeavours which appealed to him. This young aristocrat was moreover a man of action, of courage and of ambition - the product of the happiest years of Victoria's reign, when England ruled the waves, and he was imbued, through his extensive studies, in the daring spirit of the great Elizabethan Age.

Then in Maan, he heard of 'Madain Saleh'. And like 'Bangkok' in Conrad's 'Youth', the word opened new vistas to the imagination of our poet. For one thing - possibly the main conscious factor at the time -

it was linked with his search for more knowledge in his chosen fields. It was linked, for example, with his attempts at a better understanding of the 'Holy Book' of the religion of his country and race. 'Madain' (cities in Arabic) was mistakenly confused with the 'Midian' of Jethro and Moses, and promised a fuller understanding of the background of the Old Testament Books. For another, the monuments, the remains, still extant, of a by-gone age, in temples, sepulchres or inscriptions promised new food for an archaeologist, and new knowledge to be imparted to European thought. "Interested as I was", says Doughty, "in all that pertains to Biblical research, I resolved to accept the hazard of visiting them". A third possible gain in Doughty's mind was, besides the barren study of silent temples, the no less important study of the eternal wisdom of humanity in these early ages - to read, as he puts it, "the names, the saws, the salutations of ancient wayfarers". Few indeed would have pursued archaeology in an ardent belief that it would teach them more wisdom for use in their present life. Thus archaeology was interwoven with the special search for more knowledge of the Bible, and with the wider search for more knowledge of human wisdom.

Again, far in the distant horizon, there were, in the tops of hills and mountains, indications to the geologist in Doughty of the existence "of some latent or extinct volcanoes" - a factor which was in his own words "to me of hardly less interest". But dead geology, like dead archaeology, was of use, providing a living lesson in the long Story of the Earth in Geological Time, an infinitely wide frame, within which and in comparison with which, the history of man, his knowledge and his philosophy could be

considered. To these must be added the fescineting study of living nature, of flora and fauna, in an unknown country - as Doughty explains in a footnote. And all this could be crowned academically by the important map to be drawn of one of the least known countries, at that time, in Europe.

But all this concern with Madain Saleh, its monuments, or the inscriptions on them, and their link with European Biblical studies, or with the geology and the geography of the place, has clearly nothing to do directly with the living Arabs themselves. But that does not mean they were far from Doughty's consideration. The importance of Arabia to Biblical studies was referred to in Doughty's Preface to the Second Edition of the "Arabia". In his Preface to the Third Edition the point is more fully expanded and made clearer. In it Doughty refers to the Nineteenth Century Orientalists who look at Arabia as the "Pre-historic Nest" of all the Semites, "who have left their impression on the three main continents of the Old World", and particularly on the religious creeds of its peoples. What could have been limited to a study of the Bible as a written book, has become a fuller study of the Bible, as a record of the life of the Semitic people. The Arabs of today were thus looked at as the living example of how 'their ancestors in the Biblical tents of Kedar' had lived', and to know about them would make the European, "the better able to read the bulk of the Old Testament Books". The aim is shown to be wider and deeper than a simple visit to the archaeological remains of Madain Saleh, to include the human element of the living Arabs of today as well. This living human element changes in a way the nature

of the journey. It makes it a vivid experience for the traveller himself.

For the traveller himself had his own personal feelings and his own thoughts. There was indeed a personal side to the new promising adventure. The element of danger in the journey had possibly no effect but to whet his appetite for adventure. One should not minimize the 'romantic' element of his nature, or the inner yearning towards the unknown, to which was added a solid practical love of action. He whose lack of interest is everywhere shown in pure metaphysical thought or abstractions, or useless unsubstantial endeavours, could find no better outlet for his longings than a hazardous adventure into an unknown land from where he could bring about treasures of knowledge and experiences to the ears and eyes of Europe.

Last but not least comes the cause of literature and language; for Doughty took the chance provided by his journey, and decided to make it his first great experiment - the fruition of all his previous literary endeavours - in literary composition. He decided to put to the test his notions of the possibility of writing in this later age of corrupt language and literature, something worthy of the great authors of the golden age of Elizabeth. But this was to come later when the book was to be written. It is indeed the first note struck in the first lines of his Preface to the First Edition of the book. Written in 1888, it referred more probably to the cause predominent in his mind at that date than to the causes dominent in his mind when he was there on the threshold of Arabia in 1876.

Thus the diversity of the interests of the author causes and later finds expression in the diversity of his motives for going into Arabia. The various critics who have dealt with the problem of motives have all given one or two or all of the motives we have already numbered, but they certainly have not given the last word. They depended wholly, as the report given above depends, on Doughty's own words in the three prefaces to the "Arabia" Editions. But one must take Doughty's words there with a grain of salt. Doughty was not, and could not if he wanted to be, static all along the passing decades. Even if his opinions were to remain the same, there is no guarantee that the causes and problems dominant in his mind would have remained the same. There must have been a difference between 1876 when the motives in his mind and heart prompted him to dare the hazards and go into Arabia, and 1888, when the motives in his heart and mind resolved him to challenge the tastes of the age in the field of language and literature, and 1920 when the second preface was written in answer to the promptings of T.E. Lawrence and under his guidance.(1) Thus the main emphasis in 1888 was clearly on the language and the style of the book which he says was not 'milk for babes'. In 1920, the language was no longer the issue, but at the time he had just published "The Titans", and his mind was full of geology and what he calls the 'Story of the Earth'. That note is apparent in the 1920 preface to the "Arabia" Edition. He was again busy with the first edition of "Mansoul", and that poem's stress on 'Philosophical knowledge and instruction' is echoed in the preface of 1920 and that of 1921. Thus

(1) See T.E. Lawrence's Letters edited by Garnett: Letter No. 128, (Page 309).

speculation on the motives of the journey itself should not be confused with speculation on the motives of the written record of the journey, or with the changing subjects raised in the various prefaces to the various editions of the book.

The critic who always seems to claim everything for Doughty, and who tries in heroic defiance of all appearances to claim always a unity for the works of his favourite author, has himself somehow avoided it in the case of "Arabia Deserta". Professor Barker Fairley maintains that Doughty's initial motive in going into Arabia was mainly archaeological. The archaeological motive is, of course, the attempt to reach and record and decipher the inscriptions at Madāin Saleh. And then, later on, in Arabia itself, other motives began to assert themselves, 'From now on no Archaeology', (1) but an ancient race and an ancient soil. 'Here, it may be, is the birth of the great writer in Doughty'. (1) Somehow Professor Fairley does not recognize the unity of motive and the oneness of the drive in Doughty. To him, Doughty left Damascus as an archaeologist, struck out into the open desert as a searcher of life, and when he was back in England, he was to add a contribution to Research and to English Literature, and the diversity of motives showed in the work itself, for there is no unity but the underlying atmosphere.

And the diversity of motives is a problem related to and sometimes confused with, the problem of the unity of form in "Arabia Deserta". "That Barker Fairley book on Doughty spoiled itself, by trying to do too much.

(1) See Fairley: Page 16.

He maintained that the <u>form</u> of "Arabia Deserta" and of "<u>Dawn in Britain</u>" was subtle, and designed, and balanced, and cumulative. I think it was accident: and a bad accident..... "Arabia Deserta" is hampered by its lack of form, less only than <u>Dawn</u>, because there was a basis of fact to follow, and life isn't as shapeless as unassisted and undisciplined art. (1)

Thus the controversy about the motives entangled with the controversy about the form of "Arabia Deserta" continues. Hogarth takes the same stand. He puts archaeology first, and brings in a wealth of detailed information to corroborate it, like Doughty's application for help to the Royal Geographical Society (2) and the British Association. Anne Treneer is also of the same opinion, "His immediate object", she says, "in going into Arabia was archaeological".(3)

All of them are of the same opinion, that Doughty 'chanced' to hear of the Medain Salih inscriptions, and decided on the spot to risk the hazardous journey "to secure at least a sight of the Cliff monuments". (4) And the same old problem, which we tried to solve in dealing with Doughty's earlier days, this seemingly fragmentary occupation with the Navy once, with geology later, and with literature as the third and last resort, seems to show itself again. There in his younger days, from the time he started to decide his course for himself, we maintained that there was a unique

(1) Letters of T.E. Lawrence: Edited by D. Garnett. Letter 315. Pages 526-7.

(2) See Hogarth: Letter on Pages 30-32.

(3) See Treneer: Page 31.

(4) A. Treneer: Page 32. The same in B. Fairley, Page 50.

oneness of purpose in Doughty, and that nothing but the application and the experience of his ideas was left to chance. Doughty could not have started as an archaeologist, travelled as a geographer, fared as an orientalist and written as a poet, because there was a unity of aim in all his various travels from Leyden to Jidda. Archaeology and geography were only ephemeral side-issues. Medain Saleh was not the real reason that lured Doughty into Arabia.

The stand taken by Hogarth, Fairley and Treneer is not enough to explain the issue. For Hogarth himself describes in detail the preparations that Doughty had taken for the journey. He relates how Doughty started an extensive study of Arabic, the language which he would be using in Arabia. It seems absurd to begin to learn Arabic just to go with the Haj from Damascus to El-Hejr and back. Hogarth also says that Doughty told his Lebanese teacher, one Abdu Kāhil, that he will stay for three years in Arabia, and then will proceed to India and finally settle down in Italy, (1) which is curiously enough what exactly happened to the last detail, in Doughty's future days; and yet Hogarth does not seem to realize the significance of what he has related. Hogarth also tells us that Doughty spent a time trying to accustom himself to the hunger and scarcity of food in Arabia, which seems to me too elaborate a preparation for a journey to Medāin Salih only. Hogarth again mentions that Doughty caused the name Khalīl to be engraved on a seal to be used by him in Arabia, (2)

(1) See Hogarth : Page 34.

(2) Ibid. Page : 35.

and yet he does not awaken to the clear implication that Arabia and not Madāin Salih was the end in Doughty's mind. Yet with all these indications, Hogarth maintains that Madāin Salih was 'the sole object of his Arabian venture', and shows his complete inability to understand the situation when he gives as the sole reason for Doughty's longer stay in El-Hejr, Doughty's lack of funds! (1)

Now it was natural for the rest of Doughty's critics to make the same mistake as Hogarth did, and consider the Cliff inscriptions the main reason for Doughty's adventure into Arabia. Thus do Hogarth, Fairley and Treneer, seem astonished when the copying of the inscriptions comes to an end, and yet Doughty without any apparent reason, and in spite of the excellent advice of all who know, of the Kollaji, of Mehsan, of his friends in the caravan, and in the Tower, decides to stay and wander with the Beduw. Then later on when his long stay with the Beduw is about to end, and he does not go to Wejh, the western way out of Arabia, they also seem astonished. "It was a momentous decision", says Hogarth about Doughty's decision not to proceed to Wejh, "for, as events proved, it bound him to Arabia for another year". (2) If you accept that, then it is natural to look at the Madāin Salih section as an end in itself, after which there is bound to be hesitation and speculation, and then to look at the stay with the Fukara and the Moahib as another independent part, after which is the need for another decision, and another independent venture. The book becomes thus a series of

(1) Ibid. Page 33.

(2) See Hogarth: Page 55.

disconnected ventures, each occurring by chance, and each to be considered as an end in itself.

But Doughty's way is different, and his 'decisions' were taken long before he came to Madain Salih. That is why he went through all that thorough preparation. That is why he learnt Arabic, and inured himself to hunger and thirst and a frugal diet. That is why he made for himself the seal in KhalĪl's name. That is why he ordered his friends in Damascus before he left with the Haj caravan, to send him money and a book of medicine, and lymph for vaccination; elaborate preparations worthy of Doughty and his usual thorough efficiency, and suitable for the journey not to Medain Salih only but to Arabia's heart in HayĪl and to Ibn RashĪd.

It was HayĪl and Ibn RashĪd and not the inscriptions which were his main targets in Arabia. HayĪl comes exactly in the middle of the book, across the division into the two volumes, and the House of Ibn RashĪd's story of suicides, intrigues, revenge and blood, emits a strange Elizabethan atmosphere of tragic grandeur in the middle of the elaborate story of KhalĪl's travels and adventures. The Medain Salih section becomes what it actually is, a prelude to something greater, and the long stay with the Fukara and the MoahĪb becomes what it is, the long preparation of KhalĪl for HayĪl, and the preparation of the reader for the tragic history of the House of Ibn RashĪd. But we are probably anticipating the issue, for new facts must be brought forward, if all these worthy critics are to be proved wrong, and a new theory on the motives of "Arabia Deserta" be made possible.

In the collection of notes and fragments, preserved faithfully by Mrs. Doughty, and kept now in the library of Gonville & Caius College, Cambridge, I came across a printed rough copy of the lecture given by Doughty to the 'Royal Geographical Society' about his 'Travels in North-Western Arabia and Nejd' and sent for revision to the author. In Doughty's handwriting, a note states that this was revised on 21/11/83, and as usual in the case of Doughty, the copy bears a great number of changes. Now in it Doughty gives a complete résumé of his travels, and summarises what would later on be expanded into the magnificent two volumes of "Arabia Deserta". What concerns me here I shall quote fully, and I apologise for the length of the quotation, because I feel it is in this context, a new revelation. Doughty writes, for instance;

"Resting there (at Maan) and at Petra for sometime I learned two things which moved me, till then ignorant of the nature of the great Arabian country inland to the south-east, that all the neighbouring land of wilderness was ruled by one Ibn Rashīd, a mighty prince of Bedouin blood, who lorded it over the tribes and villages dispersed through that vast extent. I thought I should prefer to visit his Bedouin court, and see perchance some new David or Robin Hood, rather than tread for months the horrid mountain passes of Sinai. But being at Petra I chanced to hear of those Medjin 'cities' in the mountains, some few days distant lying by the Haj road in Arabia ..... I fancied at the time that it might be some wonder of Moses' nation Midiân, ... inscriptions which might yield fruit to our Biblical students ....."

Even if we ignore Doughty's fault in confusing Madāin with Midian, (1) a fault which he came to correct in "Arabia Deserta", we cannot ignore the fact that the search for a David and a Robin Hood comes before the search for the inscriptions at Madain Salīh. The character

(1) Nobody who knows Arabic will confuse them. One is singular, the other is the plural of a differently constructed singular.

of the Arab himself, in its various manifestations from the Kellaji to Abdulla-El-Siruan, and from Hamūd to Mohammad Ibn Rashīd and Zamil was then much more important to Doughty than geography and geology and archaeology. It is clear that the courageous partly rustic partly noble life of the Robin Hood legends which, as we have made clear before, were nearer the centre of his travel search, than it seemed before. Thus these early legends of an English childhood, realized in the adolescent readings of later years, were actually the main reason for his extensive travels inside Arabia. If in these words quoted from his lecture Doughty were to stop at the mention of David, it would have been possible to maintain that it was part of his attempts to add something new to European knowledge of Semitic life, an attempt at a fuller understanding of the Hebraic origins of his own country's creed.

But the almost casual, and for us extremely lucky addition of the name of that famous British Outlaw and Hero, certainly puts the "Arabia Deserta" into its natural place as part of Doughty's literary development. Until now it was possible to consider the travel book as the prose-forerunner to his later poetic works, only in terms of language and style and diction. Now it is possible to see the link in subject-matter also. Doughty who started to read about Robin Hood and the other legendary or historical heroes of his own land in preparation for the heroic world of "The Dawn in Britain" has come across a living character, 'Ibn Rashīd', and an ancient but still living heroic world in Arabia. So he decided to go into Arabia, and began his extensive preparations, not for the journey, but for the period in which he would stay there. Doctoring was

not meant to be used on a journey. It was meant to allow him to live with the Arabs and study what was to him one of the few remaining cases of a primitive heroic world.

But do we need examples for a fact which needed only to be said, to prove right? If we do, then let us refer to the central position taken by his various Arabian experiences in his later works. These are too important to be simply a result of an accidental journey. The story of the House of Ibn Rashīd gains an Elizabethan grandeur and nobility in the "Arabia", not only because it was singularly suited for that, but because it met a need in Doughty and a necessity in the motivation of his artistic development, which led him, even before he went to Arabia, to read and chose the grandeur and the nobility which was the English Renaissance. The story of 'Aneyza' and its wise paternal ruler 'Zamil' became the often repeated example of good government in Doughty's later works, not because Doughty lived at Aneyza and then discovered that Zamil was a good ruler, but because the idea of paternal hereditary rule was fundamental in the thought of the poet, even before he went to Arabia.

There is something of Ibn Rashīd in Caractacus. The Nejumi is one step towards the saintly Joseph. The poems of Abeyd are repeated by the various war minstrels in the Epic. Even 'Boadicea' recalls the 'Ateyfa' of the "Arabia Deserta". But perhaps the most striking similarity is shown between Bedr Ibn Telal and Brennus II. In desperation, the first is said to have found the world "become to

him a vast dying place!" ("Arabia Deserta" II, Page 17) and the second is said to have found "all Greeks' world his dying place!" ("The Dawn in Britain", Book V, Page 150). To the suicide of Brennus II one must compare the suicide of Telal, although the contrast is marked between the magnificent tragic nobility of the second and the controlled subdued manner of the first. "Arabia Deserta" thus is linked with Doughty's early studies, and itself leads to the world of "The Dawn in Britain". Except in as much as it is prose and not poetry, or that it is written about Arabia and not about Britain or Europe, it cannot be a digression, an isolated episode in his life and work. It is wrong to look at it as an end in itself.

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"Arabia Deserta" then is a part of Doughty's world and it is like everything in his work, poised somewhere between his beginnings in Nineteenth Century Victorian England, and his ideal in Sixteenth Century Elizabethan England. A study of the similarities and the contrasts between these ages, or in other words, between these two important wings of Doughty's imaginative world will certainly be rewarding. It will help understand better the strange fascination of "Arabia Deserta".

First come the facts of travel in both periods. Here, as everywhere, there are similarities as well as contrasts. In both periods there was indeed a sudden increase in travel, following a period of comparative calm and stagnation. In the earlier age, the long dark stagnant night of the Middle Ages was followed by the overflowing

exuberance of the Renaissance. The physical impediments and the dangers of the various wars were disregarded in the new outburst of the daring spirit of edventure. In the later age, the long forced isolation of England during the wars of Napoleon were followed by a period of expanding travel everywhere in the world. The spirit of fortitude and determination and the yearning to travel to unknown lands and to know more about them was strong in both periods. On one side, the Elizabethan travellers were certainly faced in their travels by more rigours of the road, more difficulties and more dangers than Nineteenth Century travellers could ever expect to meet. That puts the Elizabethan traveller in a better light.

But the tables are indeed turned, when we notice that the Victorian traveller was leaving the peace and ease of life in England, and the comforts of the road in Britain, to which he grew accustomed, to come to journeys abroad, full of hardships and inconveniences, and fraught with dangers, no less serious now than they were in the times of Elizabeth. The Elizabethan traveller was in a different position. Travelling in Britain itself was no easy matter then. The dangers of travel in the East were no less then nor greater than the dangers of travel at home. As S.C. Chew puts it, ".... in Turkey there were religious fanatics, but on the very outskirts of London there were highwaymen". Thus the impact of hardships on an Elizabethan traveller were less inflicting and less noticeable than in the case of the Victorian traveller. Doughty is a marked case, for even in his travels in Europe he was always complaining - although one must not forget that he was unfortunate (or was he fortunate?) in travelling across France just after

the Prussian onslaught of 1870, and in Spain when the country was still suffering the horrors of a near civil-war. Turkey was in its decline, and the Arabian Desert, always turbulent even in quieter periods, was more turbulent than ever. Khalīl moans and groans more than any other traveller. Perhaps this is part of the fascination of the book, but it is still a fact, that Khalīl stresses his mishaps and revels in his self-dramatization and pseudo-martyrdom. If he lived in the hardihood of Elizabethan England, he would have thought less of the difficulties of life in Arabia. But the leisure, the ease and the abundance of life in Victorian England was no good preparation for the difficulties of Arabia - more so for a descendant of a rich aristocratic family and a graduate of Cambridge.

But there was the other side of the story of travel also; not the physical side in which the body suffered or found rest; but the mental emotional side and intellectual side of it. There again are similarities as well as contrasts between the Sixteenth Century and the Nineteenth, and these show clearest in the literature of the two ages. But the literary aspects need a fuller more detailed treatment, because for us Doughty is greater as a man of letters than as a traveller, and "Arabia Deserta" greater as a book of literature than as a record of travels. So let us have a deeper look at the literary ancestry of "Arabia Deserta" both in Nineteenth Century literature and in the Elizabethan literature.

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In the Romantic literature of the Nineteenth Century, travel came to occupy a special place as part and parcel of the new movement. It was not, as it was in earlier periods, a search for more exact knowledge or information about a place, or even part of the wider act of the perfection of education for a gentleman. It became a soaring of the spirit, a leaping forward of the heart, in search of freedom to exercise itself fully, a conjuring indeed of dreamy ideal worlds where life itself flows in new visions, reflecting their own inner fancies and imaginations. So naturally, they went after the mysterious and unknown and uninhabited places. The Alps, for example, became the haunt of Romantic minds and Romantic poetry. If they went into inhabited places, they disregarded the realities of life in them, and painted a world of their own. Italy and Greece beyond it were the haunts of romantic poets, and a constant inspiration for romantic poetry. Farther away were Cairo, Damascus, Bagdad and the world of the "Arabian Nights". Beyond that was the Arabian horseman on his Arab steed and the famous aromatic winds of 'Araby the blessed'. The Romantic dream-world, the world of the Arabian Nights, was everywhere.

The Drama of the age was full of it. The operatic scenic presentations of Harems, djinns and Houris based on Islamic themes suited well the requirements and the lowly taste of the audience. Fiction was very much under the influence of "The Arabian Nights". Sir Walter Scott (1) and his imitators were not satisfied with the romantic spirit

(1) Scott was admired by Doughty. See Hogarth (Page 62.)

nearer home, and included the Near East in the flights of their imagination. (1) In Scott's "Talisman" Saladin swears by the 'tomb at Mecca' and 'Termagaunt and Mahound' are mentioned. In the 'Surgeon's Daughter' Fatima, the Prophet's daughter, is referred to as his wife. These mistakes were common in the earlier Tudor age, but read strangely in a Nineteenth Century work. Maria Edgeworth's "Murad the Unlucky" and Bulwer Lytton's "Leila or the Siege of Granada" are based on Islamic themes. But perhaps more important in their Islamic background, though less important in the history of the English Novel, were the novels of Thomas Hope and James Morier. A novel by the first called "Anastasius; or the Memoirs of a Greek" was instrumental in starting a vogue for the picaresque Oriental novel. One curious innovation in that novel is that the hero at a certain period of his travels joins the fanatic Wahhabis in the deserts of Arabia. Morier is the author of "Hajji Baba of Ispahan' which was highly praised by Sir Walter Scott; and of the novels "Zohrab, the Hostage" and "Ayesha, the Maid of Kars" in which he apologises for the good qualities of his Moslems in spite of their religion, because "..... there is often an excellence in human nature which supersedes false religion, and acts as if it were guided by the true one", ("Zohrab", I, viii) which strangely resembles some of Doughty's ideas in "Arabia Deserta". Again there is Thomas Hood's "A Tale of the Harem", to show that the influence of the "Arabian Nights" on fiction was all pervasive.

(1) See Scott's Introduction to the "Talisman".

The prose of the Romantic age was no less influenced. Lamb refers in "Newspapers Thirty-five Years Ago" to the Medieval forgery about Mohammed and the Mountain. De Quincey shows his familiarity with the "Arabian Nights" in his "Confessions of an Opium-eater". Landor wrote two of his 'Imaginary Conversations' on Islamic themes. One was between "Mahomet and Sergius" where both are occupied in working out their new religion! The other was between "Soliman and the Mufti". But perhaps the most notable contributor to the literature of the age on oriental themes was Southey whose "Chronicle of the Cid" was mainly translated from Spanish sources. In the introduction to the "Chronicle" Southey attacks the religion of Mohammed and attacks his personal morals. The whole fabric of Islam in his opinion springs from Mohammed's ambitions. Polygamy is, in his opinion, the main ruinous error of Islam. And polygamy is the cause of all the "royal fratricide that beleagued the Turkish Dynasty". For him Mohammed was not even a genius gone wrong, but a weak man raised to eminence by circumstances. The Koran was for him void of all noble meaning or noble manner.

Before we go on to Doughty's attitude, let us follow Southey's exploitation of Islamic themes in poetry, for his is the most notable contribution of the age in that field. At an early period Southey planned to write a long poem on 'Mohammed' in collaboration with Coleridge. But the plan was stopped after Coleridge wrote a score of lines, and Southey wrote more than a hundred lines. Later Southey, alone this time, wrote the most famous of the English poems based on an Islamic theme in that age - "Thalaba the Destroyer". It is clear from the 'notes' that Southey

had studied most of the travellers ancient and modern into the Islamic lands, and had read Sale and D'Herbelot. In the 'Notes' he speaks about the Koran's "tame language ..... (and) ..... dull tautology". (Pages 231-32). There he refers to the old Medieval legend of the prophet's suspended coffin in Medina (Page 701). Southey's "Thalaba" was so popular that it was dramatised and episodes from it were presented on the stage of the period. The same popularity, if not more, was accorded to Thomas Moore's "Lalla Rookh", which in spite of its unmistakable Irish features, and its apparently Indian and Persian background, was more in the fanciful world of the "Arabian Nights" than any other literary work of the period. Again there is a reference to the 'Suspended Coffin' of the prophet and another to the Medieval European legend of the prophet's 'favourite pigeon'. Wordsworth himself tells us in "The Prelude" that he was an ardent admirer and reader in his youth of 'A slender abstract of Arabian Tales'. Shelley's interest is shown in the misleading title of his "Revolt of Islam", in his "Hellas" where the defeat of the Turk is looked at as the fall of Islam itself, and in his posthumously published poem "From the Arabic: a Translation", which is his poetical rendering of a short part of an Arabian romance translated as "Antar, a Bedouean Romance" and published in four volumes in 1820. Leigh Hunt wrote "Mahmoud" on the life history of the Moslem Conqueror of North-West India, and wrote the famous "Abou Ben Adhem" which is a poetical version of a passage in D'Herbelot. But perhaps the most famous romantic exploiter of Islamic themes and the man more responsible than anyone in popularising them was Byron himself - the 'Romantic Poet' par excellence - whose travels and death put more fuel into the fire of

popular romantic imagination. In the first Canto of "Childe Harold" Byron refers to Houris (II, 23) and in the second Canto, about his travels in Albania, he refers to Ramadan and the Islamic call to prayer. In "The Giaour" he refers to Moslem Hospitality. In "The Bride of Abydos" he shows his knowledge of the Koran by referring to the "Throne Verse" (Sūrah 2: 256). In "Don Juan" there are many references to Islamic polygamy.

Nearer to Doughty's age is Tennyson, whose poem "Recollections of the Arabian Nights" speaks for itself. The rich sensuous word-imagery of Tennyson captures the mood exquisitely and the poem becomes, as Smith calls it "the loveliest tribute to the Arabian Nights in English Literature". (Smith: Islam in English Literature: Page 193).

Thus two important factors were at work in the bulk of romantic writings about Islam and the Moslem lands when Doughty was still at home. One was the old strain of antipathy to the prophet of Arabia and his Religion, a strain that started in the Middle Ages, flourished in the Renaissance, and was still very much alive at the end of the Nineteenth Century, except in one or two exceptional cases. There was one great difference, though, between the old times and the new. The Turk was still the enemy, still the head of all Islam, and its fall still meant the fall of Islam. But the Turk who was a menace and a power to Christendom in the old days, had become the sick man of Europe. In the old days there was something to respect him for, genuinely or not, but now the realities were too sordid to allow but enmity and despise. In Marlowe's "Tamurlaine" there was the fiendish scourge of paganism, but

there was also the grandeur and the nobility. In Southey's introduction to "Thalaba" all that the poet feels is contempt and stern moral indignation.

The other main factor was new to the stage. The Tudor-Stuart age did not know the "Arabian Nights". The Romantic Movement as a movement was itself new, and the influence of the "Arabian Nights" became woven into its texture. The "Arabian Nights" loom large in any study of the Nineteenth Century, its poetry or its prose, and no study of Oriental or Arabic influences on Nineteenth Century literature can ignore it. Whatever the original source of that wonderful chain of tales was, (1) it was rightly or wrongly called the "Arabian Nights", and gradually became the greatest of Arabic influences on modern European literature. The title is even today enough to conjure in the mind a world of its own, of houris and djinns and princely thieves, of hareems and belly-dancers, of fabulous wealth, of magic and intrigues, of love and courage and noble hearts, and of fancy and imagination run riot. That magic world of Scheherezade was read by all children when they were young. Doughty himself could not have escaped reading it when he was young.

But Doughty the writer was a conscious rebel against the poetry of his age, as we have shown in our second chapter. He was not concerned with the mysterious, the marvellous, the picturesque, or the grotesque. In his insistence that "Arabia Deserta" was 'no milk for babes' he was

(1) India, Persia, Abbaside Baghdad and Fatimide Cairo were suggested as possible places of origin, but the problem is irrelevant to this study of Doughty's works.

the conscious deliberate rebel, reacting against the fanciful romantic world of the "Arabian Nights". The "Arabia" always deals with facts, he insists; and its long exhaustive and repeated descriptions of the sordid reality of life in Arabia is a deliberate attempt to explode once for all the magic and spell-binding imaginary world of the "Arabian Nights". His aim, he says, was to write only what he saw or heard or felt, so that if an Arab were to read it his reaction would be "the sooth, Wellah!" He was no romantic versifier out to discover and portray the secrets of the life of the 'Noble Savage' to satisfy the appetites of ignorant romantic readers in England and Europe. In one huge gesture he sweeps aside all the chain of the semi-oriental tales from "Vathek", "Thalaba" and "Lockseley Hall" to "Mousta/a" and "Hassan".

Doughty was a seeker after truth, but it is indeed noticeable that he could afford to tell the truth and yet provide the romantic readers of his age with enough food for the imagination. What was true in Arabia could be and certainly was strange and unreal to the English reader. Doughty's truth was stranger than fancy. Still it is correct to say as we have said that the tradition of writing colourful fanciful books could not have appealed to Doughty at all. His mind was immersed in the objective ways of science, of geography, archaeology, biology and sociology. And when his mind was in need of relaxation, there was brooding over the cruelty of man or nature, or the description of the beauty of spring or summer, or trying to find a solution for the "Riddle of the Universe".

Another book which must be mentioned here in connection with the "Arabian Nights", though it was no product of Arabia itself, is the famous

"Rubaiyat of 'Omar El-Khayam". When the "Arabian Nights" was translated, it gradually permeated the minds of European readers. Gradually it became an active current working and worked into the fabric of romantic literature. In more than one sense, the "Rubaiyat" translated by E. FitzGerald was the culmination of that process. There is nothing to prove that Doughty has read the "Rubaiyat". But it was published when he was still at Cambridge, and after its second edition it suddenly became the most popular and the most famous poem of the period. Doughty could not have missed reading it or at least hearing about it. This was his period of assimilation, after which, as we have explained in the second chapter, he decided to discard the ways of contemporary literature and go back for more manly ways of literary expression. The "Rubaiyat" was another example of the decadent romantic life and literature against which Doughty was in earnest revolt.

Here was a book of semi-mysticism steeped in expressions of fatalistic despair, drowning its sorrows in a welter of women, wine and song. To Doughty with his scientific training, his interest in fossils, rocks and monuments, to Doughty in his pragmatism and his dislike of fancy and haziness, this was anathema. On literary grounds he was against the twilight atmosphere and the blurred misty afternoon feeling of Swinburnean poetry. On practical grounds he was against the fanciful unrealistic world of the "Arabian Nights", and on moral grounds he was against the dissipation of mind and body in the world of the "Rubaiyat". This might be the chance also to notice and record the fact that the "Arabian Nights" and the "Rubaiyat" and the like were products of the Islamic world in

more fertile more generous parts, than that of "Arabia Deserta". Doughty was writing about the desert and not about the civilized fertile lands of the Arabs, about the Harra and Khoybar and Hayil, and not about Basrah or Baghdad or Cairo or Ispahan. Yet even if he had written about these cities, Doughty's way would have been different from the ways of the "Arabian Nights". His book would still be the great monument against the fallacious unreality of romantic and Victorian literature.

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But all this is only the negative side of the picture, where Doughty's attitude reacts against the attitudes of the age. There is still a positive side to the picture, where Doughty is willy nilly the product of his own age. First comes the point of view, the perspective, the angle from which Doughty looks at Arabia. He could not help what he was, and what he was, determined it. As the son of a squire and the descendant of a long line of distinguished aristocracy, pride in class and race and in himself came naturally to him. Vis-a-vis any person he meets in Arabia, be he a prince or a governor or a commoner, Doughty's reaction depends on two points not one, an outer criterion and an inner feeling. The criterion was the other person's acceptance or rejection of Doughty's cause. The inner feeling was that of superiority: the superiority of civilization, of country, of race, and of knowledge and personality. If the other person was friendly, the feeling remained dormant in Doughty's heart or showed itself in a mild gentle way. If the other man was unfriendly all the pride in Doughty's self erupted to the delight of readers who prize pride and the disgust of those who

condemn it. But these are points we shall discuss later.

Let us record here that the pride was the product of the Mid-Nineteenth Century, when the might of England and the wealth of England were at their highest, when the reign of Victoria was bringing back to English minds the patriotic fervour of Elizabeth's reign. The pride was the product of Darwinian progressive ideas, showing Man as the highest point in Natural selection and Nature's creation. The pride was the result of confidence in his own worth, as much as in his race and country. If Doughty were to go to Arabia after the World War when humanity in Europe was showing nakedly its deeper darker grimmer side, it is possible that his pride might have been less sure, and his judgement of human weaknesses less severe. As he was he could not help it. And he could not help the moral outlook which colours all his work. A journey to Arabia or anywhere else, to Doughty, could not only be a simple scientific piece of research. Science itself was part of a moral image. It could not be a mere excursion into the field of aesthetics, for aesthetics would only be part of a moral outlook. And the moral outlook had itself a Nineteenth Century colour. The judgements passed did not depend on an objective evaluation of all the relevent facts. They depended on a criterion, outwardly Christian, but inwardly tainted with Utilitarian ends. Even his Christianity itself in "Arabia Deserta" is unlike the Christianity of earlier ages. Although he goes all the way as a Christian, vis-a-vis Moslems, and shows an emphasized inflated pride in his Christianity, he at times shows traces of the doubts that rent apart the hearts and minds of Victorian thinkers. Sometimes one feels

that he is on the side of science and not religion. The effects of the turmoil we have already discussed are here at their clearest. Although Doughty's own brand of Christianity is not clearly defined here, the component parts are here, points that were indeed peculiar to the Nineteenth Century.

Another peculiarly Nineteenth Century basis is the scientific knowledge, in geography, geology, archaeology and sociology, on which Doughty's work in Arabia was based, and to which Doughty added a great deal. We are not dealing with Doughty the scientist, and the only effect of it on him which interests us here is his preference for objectivity, and the effect of it in his book is the solid matter-of-factness with which he confronts us in his scientific passages.

Part of that scientific basis perhaps needs a little expansion and explanation, for one side issue of his journey was the effect it had on the Oriental and Semitic studies in Europe. It is possible that Doughty knew little about that field when he decided to go into Arabia, but he knew a lot more about it when he came back. Oriental and Semitic studies became one important side preoccupying his mind. In the book there are indications of the amount of knowledge he gained in that field in the period between his journey's end, and the writing of his book. That knowledge which is at the back of "Arabia Deserta" was learnt from the Nineteenth Century orientalists and their theories. In the rough copy (first version revised by Doughty on 21/11/1883) of Doughty's lecture to the Royal Geographical Society about his 'Travels in North-Western Arabia and Nejd', Doughty makes this point clear. Of Arabia's religious

significance, he says there, "It is manifest to all that the foreign Semitic faiths have long since dominated our Western World. It is then an interesting question who were the primitive indwellers of this ancient Semitic soil". Again we read in the same version, "In one aspect - that of the soil - Arabia of all lands is that which can least interest us; but in another aspect it shall be seen to interest us highly, and in one point more than all for if we must believe, with many most learned men in this kind of studies, that all Semites are of the Arab stock, then is Arabia the field of Semitism".

Doughty knew that the 'learned men in this kind of studies', the Orientalists of the Nineteenth Century, were not all of one mind. They were at one on the importance of Semitic Studies for the understanding of religions and on the necessity of the study of the Semites in their own lands. As G.A. Barton puts it in his "Sketch of Semitic Origins: Social and Religious" - "To understand the earliest religious conceptions of the Semitic peoples, we must study the social organization in which they had their birth; and to form a correct theory of their social organization it is necessary to study its physical environment".

But the orientalists were not at one as to the location of the cradle of the Semitic Race. Some like Guidi and Hommel and Von Kremer, whose book Doughty carried with him into Arabia, thought the cradle of the Semites was Babylonia. Hommel later changed his mind and chose Mesopotamia. Palgrave, Gerland and the great Noldeke put forward the hypothesis that the Semites started in Africa. Wiedemann and De Morgan and Erman thought they began in Arabia and then moved into Africa.

But most of the orientalists, as Doughty said, considered Arabia the Semitic cradle. Sprenger, Doughty's great friend, bases his opinion on the theory which says that historical laws do not make it feasible that agriculturists should become nomadic. Nomad Arabia comes first, "Nejd is the vastness", says Sprenger, "..... which has impressed its character upon the Semites." Later on he wrote that, "All Semites are according to my conviction, successive layers of Arabs". Sayce in turn declares that "The Semitic traditions all point to Arabia as the original home of the race. It is the only part of the world which has remained exclusively Semite". He says that the racial characteristics of the Semite - intensity of faith, ferocity, exclusiveness and imagination - can best be explained by a desert origin. Schrader based his choice of Arabia as the cradle on a comparative discussion of the religious, linguistic, historic-geographical relations of the various Semitic peoples and their lands. De Goeje, Doughty's friend and helper with the glossary of the Arabic words in the "Arabia", said in an academic address that central Arabia was the first home of the Semites; and Wright, one of the Syndics of Cambridge University Press at the time of the printing of the "Arabia" accepts the view in his "Comparative Grammar of the Semitic Languages".

Now Doughty agrees with the last theory; but even inside Arabia itself he chooses a more limited part as the earliest cradle. In the above-mentioned lecture he says, "Burkhardt and after him others of great authority on the subject of Arabia, have looked upon Nejd as the true mother-country, the heart or breast of Arabia; but I know not how justly,

or whether El-Yemen were not rather el-Batn or 'Womb' of Arabia". That is the theory behind the "Arabia" and it is clearly the product of Nineteenth Century European Orientalism.

With it and indeed at the back of it is the religious factor; for the interest in Arabia and in the Semites in general sprang from the fact that Christianity, the religion of Europe was itself a Semitic export. In trying to understand the Semites and Arabia, the attempt was made to unravel the secrets and beginnings of the religion which was woven into the texture of European life. The Orientalists and Doughty himself in his own way, were trying to understand themselves and their own civilization by studying Arabia. Arabia, as we have said, was one key towards the understanding of the Holy Book.

But Arabia was now the land of another faith, the faith of Islam. Thus the problem of Christian-Islamic relationship comes to the foreground, important in defining the perspective of the author, and important in our understanding of the book. This has a long uninterrupted history, remaining almost the same from the Middle Ages till the Nineteenth Century, a relationship rarely of amity and almost always of undiluted enmity; which even the idealized fanciful world of the "Arabian Nights" has done nothing to mitigate or allay. Doughty is indeed one in the long line of European writers on Islamic themes, in a movement which started more then ten centuries ago and included Ramon Lull and Pedro de Alcala in the Middle Ages as it did Scaliger and Pocock in the Renaissance, and later Sprenger and De Goeje and Wright and Muir in the Nineteenth Century. Doughty's debt to that movement, to the

contemporaries as well as to the forerunners, has never been fully realized or studied. That is why I find it imperative to give more space for the study of the European and then the English attitude towards Islam, Mohammed and Arabia.

As late as 1897 Sir William Muir wrote in his "Mohammedan Controversy and other Indian Articles" that, "Mohammedanism is perhrps the only undisguised and formidable antagonist of Christianity ..... in Islam we have an active and powerful enemy ...." and then he refers to the 'long period of twelve centuries, during which Christianity has been in contact with her mortal foe'. In the second article in that book, an article he had already published in 1852, Muir writes, "Within the last ten or twenty years, the mind of Christian Europe, has been directed, with more studious earnestness and dispassionate inquiry, towards the rise of Islam, than in any preceding period". He refers to the studies of Weil, of De Percival and of Sprenger, Doughty's great friend.

Now Sprenger's opinions of the Moslems of the earliest era as free-er and boldor than those of later times is perhaps the same as Doughty's contention in the "Arabia", that earlier Arabs were more ingenious and more industrious than the Arabs of his day. Sprenger's belief that Mohammed was a man of a weak and cunning mind, is not reflected on the pages of the "Arabia", but the enmity and the hostile attitude towards the Prophet and his teachings are certainly there in both authors. Both were part of the long historical hostility. And no study of the background of "Arabia Deserta" can be complete without a detailed study of that historical hostility and its manifestations in life and literature.

Doughty has said that before going on his Arabian journey, he had not read any of the books of the earlier travellers into Arabia, and there is no reason why we should not believe him. Yet this is truth, but not the whole truth. Put that way his words might mislead us, for Doughty was not at all ignorant of writings on Arabia and the Arabs and Islam even before he left the shores of England. I do not say that Doughty even in those early days had the intention of going to or writing on Arabia, or that he deliberately started there and then to read what was written on Islam and the Arabs. All I want to say is that in his vast readings in the authors of Europe and Britain, and in the body of English literature which Doughty chose as his ideal and which he studied so fully that it went into the making of his character and his outlook in literature as well as in life and thought, there were so many things about Islam and the Arabs. In those early authors Doughty was reading, he could not help coming across writings on the Moslems and their religion and culture, either as influences on European thought or as targets for the attacks of most of these early writers. Is it right then to neglect these older books and authors in any study of Doughty's outlook towards the Arabs and Islam in "Arabia Deserta"? If it were Burkhardt, Burton or Palgrave, it would have been enough to study the ideas current on Islam in the middle of the Nineteenth Century. But in the case of Doughty we must go back to the earliest of his English sources to discover the secrets of his complex feelings expressed in "Arabia Deserta".

Perhaps it was not intentional or conscious on the part of Doughty, but the line he took from his early days had led him in time to what he later

called the 'Nest' - Arabia. And when he went into Arabia and came back, and started to write his book, all the bits and all the patches that he had come across in his earlier readings, were recalled and used and had a great bearing on his attitude of mind and on his work. That is why we have to begin at the beginning and study what he had read of Islam and the Arabs in his earliest possible readings. It is not always possible to state in certainty what Doughty has or has not read, but the detailed study of his literary sources in our second chapter must help us deal with this particular problem of the background to his Arabian work. There is no need for a detailed study of the relations between Islamic and Western Christian Cultures, or between Arabic and English literatures. A hint will, I hope, suffice. What I propose to do is to select only the instances in English literature, where there is anything on Islam or about the Arabs, and where there might be the possibility that Doughty has come across them and been influenced by them.

Doughty has chosen his field of literary studies, when he had decided to take up literature as his vocation, in great care and deliberation. And the great period he chose, as we have already explained was that of the formative years of the later Middle Ages and the early Renaissance. The aim was decidedly not the study of anything Arabic or Islamic, but Arabic and Islamic thought had a great influence on the authors he was studying. We do not know if Doughty knew anything about Abraham b. Ezra, the Andalusian Jew who travelled to Britain in 1158 and 1159, bringing with him the knowledge of Moslem Spain. But Doughty could not have escaped hearing of or reading about Adelard of Bath, who in the first quarter of the Twelfth

Century travelled extensively in Moslem Spain and Syria. Adelard and those who followed him like Robert of Chester and Daniel Morley, like Doughty himself and like Doughty's "Mansoul", travelled to the East, as Morley tells us, "to seek the wiser philosophers of the universe". In the Thirteenth Century comes the greater name of Michael Scott, who studied Hebrew and Arabic and brought to Western Europe for the first time, in translations from Arabic, the works of Aristotle. Michael Scott, and Roger Bacon, were certainly influenced by the culture of the Arabs in Spain and Sicily.

One does not expect to find any substantial proof of any relation between Doughty and these early scholars, but the mere mention of these names in any study of Doughty will become perfectly justifiable as soon as we come to the host of English poets and writers throughout the Fourteenth, the Fifteenth and the Sixteenth Centuries, who were all in various degrees influenced by these early scholars. We need not be reminded again that this was the period and these were the authors chosen by Doughty as the foundation of his literary style and output. His choice as we said had nothing to do with Arabic studies, but nevertheless Doughty in drinking deep of that fountain, has at the same time drunk and assimilated the things about Islam and the Arabs that were there. And the effect necessarily showed itself when he came into direct contact with the world of Arabia. Let us then, briefly follow the threads of writings on Islam and the Arabs in Langland, Gower and Chaucer, in Lydgate and Dunbar, in Erasmus and Scaliger, in Maundeville and Hakluyt and Sandys and the rest of all those names that were dear to the heart of Doughty.

Literature is always the mirror of the age and either directly or indirectly reflects the actions and reactions in the life and minds of the people, and Islam at that early period was the arch enemy of Christianity. By the time the Prophet of Islam appeared in Arabia to transform the lives of its tribal hordes and weld them into a new mighty power of faith and belief, Europe was, all of it, under the sign of the Cross, and Christianity's first great enemy of paganism was completely subdued.

Christianity was the Universal Religion, certainly to all its adherents, and almost certainly in all the important parts of the world of man at that time. There was no other religion worthy of the name except the Jewish Faith, but even that was thought to be a faction, which instead of fulfilling its own true predicament, allowed itself to meander and turn off the main course.

Then came Islam, which in a few years was able to destroy the Empire of Persia and challenge the might of the Eastern Roman Empire. When on the banks of the Yarmūk, two years after the death of Mohammed, Khalid defeated the armies of Emperor Heraclius and opened the way to the speedy occupation of Syria and the Holy Land, the world of Christianity, for the first time, faced defeat at the hands of a younger 'religion'. In a few more years the followers of the Prophet had occupied Jerusalem itself, submerged the southern shores of the Mediterranean, and invaded Europe itself, across the straits into Spain and Sicily. Thus Islam became for all the inhabitants of Europe, the great danger, and the arch-enemy.

In terms of religion, and religion then reigned supreme in the life of men on both sides, the Moslems were fighting people who in their opinion had deviated from the true path of religion, and who had turned Religion itself to serve their own selfish ends. To succeed in converting a Christian to Islam meant for the Moslem an act of charity and duty towards God and Men, for his, he believed, was the main stream of Religion, flowing from the beginnings of Creation through Abraham and Moses and Jesus himself. This was the true fulfilment of the signs and prophecies in the pure religion of early Judaism and early Christianity.

In terms of religion, also, for the Christians in Europe, for whom Christianity was 'the religion', Islam could at best be a 'faction', a chip of the huge tree, thrown away and lost by the machinations of a 'misguided' impostor, and at its worst the way of the devil. Mohammad himself was either the enemy of God, the Devil himself, or the enemy of Christ, the Anti-Christ, and in terms of the older Christian-Pagan clash, was himself a pagan god. Mohammad, in its corrupted form of 'Mahoun', became in the Middle Ages, and in the early days of the Renaissance, and is still sometimes used (1) as equivalent to the devil. 'Mawmetry' became thus the worship of the devil, or the religion of idols. Christian heretic, or pagan god or devil or false prophet, Mohammad occupies a prominent place among the hated objects of Medieval and Renaissance Christian Europe, and is reflected everywhere in the literature of the period.

The most important literary product of the Middle Ages is perhaps

(1) For example in the dialect and the modern poetry of Scotland.

the body of romances woven around the names of Arthur and Charlemagne, notably in Britain and in France. Both these two heroes were said to have fought for the Christian Faith. Their enemies were said to be pagans, among whom the 'Saracens' were included. Even Stonehenge with its early pagan connections was called 'Sarsen (Saracen) Stones'. The same confusion between paganism and Islam is found in the pages of the famous "Chansons de Gestes". "The Chanson de Rolland" tells how King Marsilies went after his defeat at the hands of Charlemagne, back to Sargossa, where his followers began to destroy their gods: Apollin, Tervagan and Mahumet. The last they threw into a ditch, where he was devoured by swine and dogs. When Rolland defeated the paynim giant 'Vernagu', the latter cried to 'Mahoun and Jubiter' for help and deliverance.

In England in the Middle Ages, Muhammad is referred to in William of Malmesbury's "Gesta Regum Anglorum" (Book II, 189) but this work remained in manuscript till the Elizabethan Age. But there are references to Muhammad and his religion in most of the Monastic chronicles of the period. The fullest account is that of Vincent of Beauvais' "Speculum Historiale" (Books XXII, Chapters XXIV - LXVIII), which gathers together all the legendary material known on the subject until the Thirteenth Century. In the works attributed to Layamon (a favourite of Doughty) there are two references to Tervagant, once as a God of Rome, and again as a Saxon god.

In the Fourteenth Century Ralph Higden's "Polychronicon" was compiled, and in the reign of Edward IV, this was translated by John of

Trevisa. In it there is a reference to Muhammad as a master of witchcraft and necromancy. That work was one of the earliest books printed in the Fifteenth Century by Caxton. ~~Wine~~ Caxton's first printed book, the first book ever to be printed in England, the "Dicts and Sayings of the Philosophers" (1477) was ironically a work based on an Arabic original, the "Kitab Mukhtār al-hikam wa-mahāsin al-Kilam" compiled in 1033 by the Egyptian Amīr Mubashshir b. Fatik, which consisted of many philosophic quotations and proverbs, and was translated into many European languages.

Again, the Mystery plays, which serve in many ways as the living chronicles of the age, and the surviving forms of which were mostly written in the Fifteenth Century, provide us with many examples of this early Christian misrepresentation of Islam and its Prophet. The simple man who simply preached that there is no god but God becomes a god (1) in a pantheon beside Apollo, Jupiter, Mars and Juno. Even his book becomes a god by the name of Al Karon. The Moslems in these plays usually swear 'by Mahoun' or 'Sire Mahoun'. When defeated in battle, which is always, they curse their god, and when they win, which was only once (2), they burn frankincense in front of their idols, drink the blood of beasts, and feast on milk and honey.

In some of these plays, 'Mahoun' is worshipped by other followers than Moslems. (3) The Queen of Marcylie (Marseille) asks the King to do

(1) E.P. Smith: "Islam in English Literature".
(2) In "The Sowdone of Babylon".
(3) In "Mary Magdalene" in the Digby Cycle.

special reverence to 'Mahoun', and there starts a complete religious service, very much like a vulgar parody of the Christian Mass, followed by a horrible show of Mohammad's holy relics, his neck-bone and eyelid. Mohammad the false god is turned into Mohammad the demon in some of the plays on "The Harrowing of Hell" theme in the various Cycles. The idea of all the false gods shown in hell as demons was very much older than "Paradise Lost", and Mohammad was no exception. Langland in "Piers Plowman" somehow reconciles the various Medieval ideas about Mohammad into his pages. In (Passus XXI) he is among the infernal powers. In (Passus XVIII) he is a 'lushburgher', a counterfeit. He says,

"Men findeth that Makamede was a many christened
And a Cardinal of Court....."

Mohammad was a Cardinal of Rome who aspired unsuccessfully to become the pope, and because of his failure fled into 'Syria' and started to deceive the ignorant people into believing him to be the messenger of God. He taught a dove to eat corn off his ears, and when it came to pick the grains, while he was preaching, he would tell the people it was the bearer of a heavenly message, and all the people would then kneel in reverence.

"Thus Makamede in misbelief, man and woman brought
And his lore they liven thus....."

John Gower's "Confessio Amantis" also goes into the story of Mohammad and Islam (1), and strangely enough the confessor shows himself against the killing of the Moslem. Chaucer himself refers to 'Mawmetry' (Tale of the Man of law: line 236).

(1) Volume II, Book III.

In the following century comes John Lydgate, and he has much to say about the prophet of Islam, but adds little that was not common in the story "off Machomet the fals prophete". (1) He says he was of "low kynreede", who used his knowledge of witchcraft to marry the rich Queen 'Cardigen' of Corossan, and as King fights Heraclius and occupies the East as far as Alexandria. Because he was afflicted with epilepsy, he explained the fits, as visits from the Archangel Gabriel, bringing him the word of God. About his death Lydgate relates the widespread story of Mohammad being drunk, and eaten by a herd of swine, which is supposed to explain why Moslems do not drink wine or eat pork. As for his teachings, he seems to have known that Friday was the Moslems' Sabbath, but he explains it by linking it with "Friday" as the "Dies Veneris" in the Roman Calendar, and says that Mohammad made 'Friday' the day of worship because of Venus! (2) Yet the most exaggerated of these Medieval extravagances seems certainly to be that of William Dunbar, who has made 'Mahoun' not one of the infernal powers only, but the 'master of ceremonies' in Hell in his 'Dounce of the Sevin Deidly Synnis'.

These fantastic and grotesque legends based on the ignorance and the superstitious beliefs of the Middle Ages, were indeed hard to die. The Sixteenth Century carried it on, with little changes, to the early Seventeenth. They show their persistence more in the field of Drama than anywhere else. Skelton refers to that when he wrote in "Why come ye not

(1) Part III, Book IX.

(2) Book IV, Pages 132-34.

to Court?" (II, 275) "Lyke Mahound in a play." It is enough to give here examples from the most prominent names of Elizabethan dramatists. Marlowe's "Tamburlaine" contains various medieval references to Mohammād and Islam. Orcanes, King of Natolia (1) for example, swears "By sacred Mahomet", and brings in the absurd story of Mohammād's coffin hung till that day, "on stately Mecca's temple-roof". Robert Greene's "Alphonsus King of Arragon" and Robert Dabone's "A Christian turn'd Turke" are based on Islamic themes, and in the latter a 'head' of Mahomet plays a conspicuous part. In Shakespeare, there is no direct mention of Islam and Mohammad. There are marginal Moslem characters like the Moroccan prince in "The Merchant of Venice, but Islam itself is never alluded to directly, except once or twice when the word 'mammet' is used. (2) But then the word itself had come to mean not an idol, but a puppet or tool. Edgar in 'King Lear" refers to the cruel fiend "Mahun" who is clearly "Mahoun", the corrupted word from Mohammed. The prophet apart, Mohammedans are shown in Elizabethan Drama as always treacherous, so much so that sometimes their oaths to their God are themselves treacherous - being conscious bribes not meant to be fulfilled!

Besides Drama, Literature in general is full of the same. Spenser himself is not free from it. The paynim in "The Fairie Queene" (II, vii, 47) swears by "Turmagaunt and Mahound". Sir Walter Raleigh likens Banks' famous horse to Mohamed's dove, both being trained by men

(1) 2 Tamburlaine, I, ii, 62-67.

(2) I Henry IV, II, iii, line 95, and I Henry VI, I, ii, 140.

to do their tricks for them. Thomas Nashe refers twice to the 'dove' legend. And Fulke Greville in "A Treatise of Monarchy" (stanza 51?) writes:

"Mahomet himself an Idol makes
And drews mankind to Mecha for his sake."

Another great source of these absurdities, besides the drama and the poetry of that age, is the body of travel literature written about the Moslem lands at that period. Some of it was based on actual travels into the Middle East, and some of it was nothing but the fertile imagination of its authors. But generally speaking the legends and superstitions which coloured to an unbelievable degree the writings of the poets and dramatists were relatively checked by the knowledge gained about the Moslem lands. Of the book said to be written by Sir John Mandeville, the first sixteen chapters of part I are about his travels in the Middle East. In chapter VI, which is about his travels in Egypt, he tells us how he fought as a soldier of the Sulten of Egypt, in his war against the bedouins, who strangely enough, cooked their meat and fish by the rays of the sun! Chapter VIII describes the way to Sinai, and chapter IX the habits of the bedouins of Sinai. Chapters X to XIV are about Jerusalem and the Holy Land, and chapter XV conteins an account of the Moslems and what he says are their laws and customs. There he relates the interesting and as a contrast to Doughty's defamation of Islam, a pertinent conversation between himself and the Sulten about the evil ways of Christians in their lands. Mandeville's travels, which are said to be nothing but a clever reproduction from various earlier travellers, (1) repeat

(1) See: M. Letts: "Sir John Mandeville, the Man and His Book".

the extravegant and wild pictures that Christians draw of "Paradise in the Koran", which Doughty significantly labels as "their fools' paradise". (1)

But if Mandeville is suspected of having travelled only on the pages of a book, others have indeed gone to the Near East in mind, soul and body. Of these, there is 'Fynes Moryson', a man who being, like Doughty, of independent means, decided to see the world, not for commercial or political reasons, but to quench a desire for knowledge. In his second journey (1595-1597) he visited Constantinople, Asia Minor, Syria, Palestine and other parts of the Ottoman Empire. Like Doughty again he was careful to record his experiences in notes, from which he started, when he was back home, to compose his 'Itinerery'. The Latin version was not published, but an English translation by the author himself was published. Like Doughty he shows a tendency to speak up boldly and criticize quickly, yet when a quarrel was at hand he, again like Doughty, was very patient and slow to pick a quarrel.

Unlike Moryson was Thomas Coryat, whose second journey led him in 1612 to sail from Venice to Constantinople, and travel in Greece and Asia Minor, and to sail later from Smyrna to Egypt, where he visited Cairo, and then went to Palestine. From Syria he joined a caravan to Mesopotamia, and travelled across Southern Persia to Kandahar, Lahore and Agra. He met the Mogul Emperor Jehangir in 1616, and died while journeying near Bombay. The records of this long journey by this jolly

1) "In Paradise", alleges Mandeville, "The Moslem believes that each man shall have eighty wives all maidens"! - Part I, 84-85.

and jovious pedestrian are included in the collections of Samuel Purches, where Doughty must have read them. The third traveller is William Lithgow who is sometimes considered Coryat's disciple, and who travelling as a pedestrian mostly, like his master, went to Constantinople, Syria, Palestine and then across the Sinai desert like Doughty to Egypt, and then returned home. His "A Delectable and True Discourse of an admired and painefull peregrination" was published twice and was used later by Purchas, where again Doughty must have read it.

Then comes Sir Thomas Herbert who went to Persia in 1627, and wrote his "Some Yeares Travels into Divers Parts of Asia and Afrique" (1638). In spite of some knowledge of Islam which his book shows, he says that the letters of Mohammad's name make up the number 666, which is "the marke of Antichrist", and relates some mirrcles of Mohammed which he alleges were mentioned in the Koran. Last comes George Sandys, whose book Doughty had certainly studied in 'Purchas', and was greatly influenced by. Sandys was like Doughty a product of the higher classes, which to Aristocracy added Religion, for he was the son of an Archbishop of York. Like him an aim of his journey was to put the finishing touches in the traditional education of a gentlemen, and like him his European journey was unexpectedly extended to include the Islamic lands. Like Doughty his archaeological interests are shown in his description of the ruins of Troy. His journey carried him to Constantinople, Asia Minor, Egypt and Palestine and then back home to England. His 'Journey' was published in 1615 and was so popular that it went into four editions and was used by Purchas. His knowledge of Islam is almost perfect, but the

enmity to Mohammad's religion, "his irreligious religion" (1), as he calls it, still exists and still goes unmitigated.

Our last Jacobean traveller is Sir Henry Blount, who was no less an aristocrat than Sandys or Doughty. His journey across the Balkan led him to Constantinople, on the wake of the fire which burnt the great city in 1633. From there he went to Rhodes and Egypt, where he particularly visited the Fayûm. Blount was like Doughty, competent, conscientious and always serious-minded, and he was no less critical of the Moslems. His book called "Voyage into the Levent" (1638) was included in Thomas Osborne's "Collection of Voyages and Travels" (I, 540), where Doughty must have read it. Collections of travel books like those of Hakluyt and Purches were used meticulously by Doughty in his earlier days.

Another source of travel literature almost certainly known to Doughty in his earliest period before he started his travels, is the body of work produced by those whose aim was to serve their country in the fields of commerce and politics. From the early years in the reign of Elizabeth England started to flatter the Ottoman Sultan as one of her possible allies against Philip II of Spain. Later when England was saved from invasion and conquest, the reason changed, but the attempts to gain commercially and politically were carried on by a long line of Ambassadors to the Porte. Later still, English embassadors found their way to the court of the Shah of Persia. The Shirleys were the most famous and the most important of the Stuart envoys to Persia. Although neither

(1) See Sandys' Journey: Page 53.

Turkey nor Persia are parts of the Arab World, these travellers and their factual reports had a great effect in gradually killing the legends invented in the Middle Ages and believed in the Renaissance. Apart from that general contribution, they had a special effect on Doughty's knowledge of Islamic themes before he went into Arabia. He must have read at least some of these embassadors' reports in his meticulous studies in Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century English Literature. One significant quotation about English diplomatists in the East used in the "Arabia" comes from a famous saying of Sir Henry Wotton about embassadors in foreign countries.

Now these travellers have gone to the Islamic countries, met Moslems and seen their lands, and each in his turn came back to tell the story of his experiences with them. Facts were bound to show, and all the legends and superstitions of the prophet of Islam and his religion and his people and their lives were bound to change, except the emotional antipathy. Most of the travellers of the early period were obliged to praise the virtues of life in the Islamic countries. Those who met Islam during the Crusades for example would not believe their eyes, finding that the Moslems were leading a better life than theirs. Their experiences were the reasons for one (1) or two (2) bright spots in the dismal story of enmity between Christian Europe at that time and the world of Islam.

(1) Gower's Confessor, for example, who states that the Gospel does not tell to kill the Saracen.

(2) Mandeville's praise of Moslem Virtues.

Yet even there the idea was that Moslems were virtuous in spite of their religion and not because of it. (1) The Moslem Religion was evil to them and evil could not beget good. And because there was good in them there was the hope that they sometime in the future would become Christians. (2) The only difficulty they thought would delay that process was the sensuous attractions and the sexual licence in this world and the other, which Islam held out to keep its adherents and gain proselytes. (3) No one, then, was able to keep his Christian belief in abeyance, and try to give the religion of the Moslems a fair and objective deal, not even when it was clear that the world of Islam was much more advanced, much more civilized then the dark world of Medieval Christianity in Europe. Perhaps that was asking too much, for it is almost impossible to cast aside notions and beliefs imbued into the mind when the mind is still in its impressionable period.

A third source of knowledge of Islamic themes in Doughty's earliest period is indeed the religious controversies that reged within the body of Christianity in Europe in general and England in particular, controversies of which Doughty read fully before he went to Arabia, and

(1) Sir Henry Blount in his "Voyages into the Levant" says "These fair works ..... seemed to me like dainty fruits growing out of a dunghill." (I, 340).

(2) e.g. Piers Plowman's vision of the day when Jews and Saracens would learn the Christian Creed (Passus XVIII, Page 327), and Mandeville says that Moslem's belief in God and Jesus will make their conversion easy (I, 87).

(3) e.g. R. Higden's translation of John of Trevisa (Polychronicon).

the effects of which are knit into the fabric and fused into the spirit of "Arabia Deserta". As early as the Middle Ages, the name of Islam was used as a whip to strike at opponents in Christian controversies. Opponents of Wyclif called him, for example, a 'Mahomet'. And later in the greatest religious conflagration in Europe, the breach between Rome and the Protestants, the same word was applied by both sides on each other. Catholics accused Protestants of being allies of the Mahometans in a unified attempt to break up the One Church of Christ. Protestants attacked Catholics as no less infidels, and no less idolaters than the Mochometans.

Thus whoever occupied himself as Doughty did with these earlier religious contentions, was bound to read and know about Islam and the Arabian Prophet. Doughty as we have shown was occupied in more than that, in studying the growth of the English language and literature from the beginning till the heights of the golden age, and in studying the growth of civilization and culture in Britain throughout the early ages. Could he possibly close his eyes to the mention of Islam as an important fact, when even the children in parks and streets, and the grown-ups in inns, in the age of Elizabeth, were used 'to shooting the Turks', as a sport and a pastime? (1)

But what, other than these general pale hostile feelings, did the people of Doughty's chosen age, the Elizabethans and the Jacobeans, know about Islam and Arabia? Most of the travellers in the Near East went to Turkey and the Levant, to Iraq and Persia, and not to Arabia proper.

(1) See Camden's Preface to the "History of Elizabeth" (1569) or Dekker's "The Shoemaker's Holiday" (III, i).

The old classical division of Arabia into Arabie Felix, and Arabia Petraea and Arabia Deserta was of course known to all. When Lyly in his "Euphues and his England" refers to the river of Arabia which changes gold into dross, and changes dust into silver, he echoes an ancient classical belief in the riches of Arabia. When Marlowe's Barabas refers to the rich Arabians who always pay in Gold he echoes the same belief. When Spenser writes about "the wines of Greece and Araby" (Fairie Queene I, V, 4) and Shakespeare says that Macbeth's foulness could not be wiped away even by "all the perfumes of Arabia", they refer again to that ancient belief in the riches of Arabia Felix, the winds of which, says Herodotus, carry balmy odours to the sea. To it again is the clear reference in Milton ("Paradise Lost" IV, 159) to the "Sabeean odours from the spicy shore Of Araby the blest; .....".

The other side, that of Arabia Deserta, must be the part referred to by Spenser's "boyling sands of Arabie and Ynde". ("Fairie Queene" I,VI, 35), and by Shakespeare's "vasty wilds of wide Arabia" ("Merchant of Venice", II, vii, 41). But an exact picture rendered by an eye-witness was still to come. Some Elizabethan travellers who went to the Near East managed to give an accurate picture of Arabian life. (See, for example, Sandys' description which is astonishingly similar to some of Doughty's observances.) Some of them, going from Palestine to Egypt or vice-versa, managed to cross the Sinai Desert, which Doughty was later to consider an Arabian Peninsula in embryo. No Elizabethan traveller was able to visit Petra, and the road into Arabia proper was always closed to them.

Yet the Elizabethans could read about the Haj to the Holy Cities

of Arabia as early as 1577. An Italian turned Moslem for a time was able to visit the Holy Places early in the Sixteenth Century. Back in Rome, Ludovico di Varthema published his 'Itinerario' in 1510. From a Latin version of that book, Richard Willes made an English translation, which was included in the 1577 edition of Eden's "History of Travayle".(1) This gave the Elizabethans their first genuine impression of the Haj and the Holy Cities of Islam. Varthema, for instance, was the first to mention the existence in Arabia of the unicorn, the real nature of which Doughty, by the way, was the first to describe and ascertain. Varthema was used extensively by all the subsequent writers on Arabian themes. He is used by Sandys, and used for example by Purchas ("Purchas his Pilgrimage or Relations of the World and the Religions....." 4th edition, London, 1626, Page 226).

In Hakluyt's great compendium (V, 329f) the Elizabethans read also another traveller telling in "A Description of the yearly voyage or pilgrimage of the Muhomitans, Turkes and Moores unto Mecca in Arabia". The traveller's name is not mentioned, and the Haj road starts here in Cairo with the Egyptian pilgrimage, and not as Varthema and Doughty did from Damascus with the Syrian Haj. However, this seems to be a genuine journey, though it could hardly avoid the usual exaggerations of the age.

The third account of a journey to the Holy Cities of Arabia is that of the first Englishmen who was destined, again as a Moslem for a time, to go to Mecca and come back to write about it - Joseph Pitts, whose "A True

(1) An edition of this was published by the Hakluyt Society in 1863 when Doughty was at Cambridge.

and Faithful Account of the Religion and Manners of the Mahometans" was published in Exter (1704). As such it comes long after the chosen golden age of Doughty, and there is no proof that Doughty knew this book.

About the Holy Book of Islam, that which the earlier Middle Ages had made into a God of the Moslems, the Elizabethans again knew little. Typical of the later Renaissance are the words of Sandys "Besides the positive doctrine (to itself contradictory) it is farced with Fables, Visions, Legends, and Relations" (1) which is not far different from Doughty's own estimate. Other than the imperfect Latin translation made in the Twelfth Century on the encouragement of Peter the Venerable, and the Studies in the Quran made by Bedwell, there was nothing like an exact translation of the Quran till the translation into the English Language in 1649 of the French version made by Sieur du Ryer, formerly the Consul of France in Alexandria, published in that same year. The writer of the introduction to that translation, Alexander Ross, calls Muhammed an impostor, and the Quran a "Gallimaufrey of Errors", a denunciation expressed long before his time, and reiterated long after on the pages of Doughty's book.

But the translation which was to supersede completely Du Ryer's version, and which was certainly known and studied and used by Doughty, was that of George Sale (1734). Doughty does not seem to have used Sale in his earlier studies, for Sale was an Eighteenth Century author, but he certainly used Sale's translation and introduction later on. Witness his use in the preparation for "Adam Cast Forth" (Chapter VI of this thesis).

(1) See Sandys' Journey: Page 42.

Sale was not the product of the Middle Ages or the Renaissance, when ignorance led to the invention of incorrect stories about Islam. He came later, when better knowledge led to a better understanding of the Religion and the Holy Book of Islam. The Quren was read through different eyes and Muhammad was considered in more fevoureble light. The older stream of abuse which reached its peak in the peges of Priderux was not altogether dead and the belief in Muhammad as Prophet and the Quran as the Word of God was too much to expect. But some began to give Islam and the Moslem World a better treatment, and show what they considered the good sides of the Islamic teachings. Adrian Reland's two Latin treatises were translated into English in 1712, and were the first works an Englishman could read in his language, in which there was some defence of Islam against the long line of false attacks by European authors. Leibniz considered Muhammad the herald of Natural Religion. To Boulainvilliers Islam was preferable to Christianity because it is more rational. These new attempts at revaluation were helped by the new line of great Arabists from Bedwell and Pocock/ in the Seventeenth Century, through Ockley and Sale in the Eighteenth, and on to Burkhardt, Lane and Palmer in the Nineteenth. Its highest manifestation was perhaps Carlyle's famous second lecture on "Hero and Hero worship", the one called "The Hero as Prophet", which was one of the most encouraging results of the new 'Orientalism'.

But before we end this probe into the huge arena at the back of the stage in "Arabia Deserta", we should consider that important side of the tradition of Orientalism, that which is considered by some critics

the most important contribution to the making of "Arabia Deserta" - I mean the language side - the study of the language of the Arabs in Europe in general and England in particular.

Evidence shows that the older opinion which treated the Crusades as the main factor in the East-West Moslem-Christian cultural and linguistic contacts was not altogether correct. The hostile relationship which started on the banks of the Yarmuk between the armies of Omar and Heraclius and led first to the recession of Christian European power to the foothills of the Pyrenees, and the barren mountains of Southern Italy, did not allow a protracted contact in the fields of language and culture. But when calmer periods followed, two main fields of that contact were found in Spain and Sicily. The contact was not in fact on a wide or popular level. On that level there was only hostility and ignorant bigotry and invented legends. But for the more ambitious souls of thinkers and scholars the lines of communication were not cut.

In most cases the contact was through translators, through Jews, through Oriental Christians or converts. In Spain the last named were the well known Mozarabes (Musta'rib). Actual knowledge of the Arabic language was rare among the Western Scholars. Among those few were Robertos Retenensis and Hermanus Dalmata who studied Astrology and Mathematics in Spain. These two were encouraged by Petrus Venerabilis, Abbot of Cluny, to translate the Quran into Latin in the Twelfth Century for the first time in Europe. On Peter's encouragement also, Petrus Toletanus translated from Arabic into Latin a refutation of Islam. The Twelfth Century in fact was the first great period of East-West cultural

contact. Then the Islamic World was far ahead of the Christian West in matters of culture and civilization.

With the aim of learning the language of Islam to understand the enemy of Christianity and be better prepared to fight it, there was also the secular aim of learning more from a higher culture and a better civilization. The influence of Arab Culture showed in the Western seats of learning. Averroism was a force in Padua and Paris, and went into the making of the European thought at that time. Schools of translation sprang up everywhere. Books were translated into the Romance Language of Castile and then to Latin. Aristotle, with the commentaries of Al-Kindi, Al-fārābi, Ibn SĪna, Al-Ghazāli, and Ibn Rūshd, and the works of Euclid, Ptolemy, Galen, Appocrates and others were translated from Arabic. England was well represented in that effort by Adelard of Bath, whom Bernard Lewis calls "the pioneer of Arab learning in the West", and who was perhaps the first cultured Englishman to travel in Syria to study Arabic and Arab Science. Robert of Chester studied Mathematics in Spain and translated Arabic books into Latin. Daniel of Morley, dissatisfied with the narrow-mindedness and oppression of thought in the Christian centres of learning, went to Spain to "seek the wiser philosophers of the Universe", among the more liberal, more civilized people there.

In the other main centre of Christian-Moslem contact - that of Sicily - where the rulers were Christian Norman Kings, the superiority of Arab culture and civilization was acknowledged and benefited from. Those Kings patronized, for example, the famous Idrissi, the greatest

geographer of the age, whose greatest work was dedicated to Frederick II of Sicily. There again Arab poets were patronised, and Arabic poetry infiltrated from there to influence in theme as well as in conventions of form what later flourished into the famous Provençal songs. (1) So, it is not strange to find even Englishmen go to distant Italy to learn. The most famous name in the Thirteenth Century is perhaps that of Michael Scot, who mastered Arabic and Hebrew and translated the commentators of Aristotle into Latin. Arabic was indeed a language to be learnt for the treasures of knowledge it was to bring to the learner. Because of its importance for knowledge and culture, and because of the still lingering hope of converting the Arabs, there appeared in the Twelfth Century the first lexicography - the anonymous "Glossarium Latino-Arabicum".

The hope of converting the Moslem infidels and of regaining the Holy Land for the Cross was always alive in the heart of Christian Europe. Some realized that brute force alone could not defeat the power of Islam. So they tried to use the power of the word, and the first step was to encourage the learning of Arabic in the Christian European centres of study. St. Thomas Aquinas made a fine distinction between the heretic, who was to be always fought, and the infidel, who should be taught, because the former knew the right path and left it, while the latter would surely follow the right path if he was taught it. Roger Bacon considered the Crusades cruel because the infidel should be converted, not fought.

With the aim of converting the Moslems in mind, the Order of

(1) See Professor Gibb's article on that in "The Legacy of Islam".

Preachers founded in the Thirteenth Century in Toledo the first school of Oriental Studies in Europe, where Arabic and Hebrew were taught to the missionaries to be sent to the Moslems and Jews. Raymondus Martini was one of its products. Ramon Lull had a short spell trying to teach Arabic in a similar college in Majorca. Pope Innocent IV wrote to the University of Paris about the need for men skilled in Oriental languages. Pope Honorius IV strove to establish in Paris a school for Arabic and other oriental languages to convert the Saracens. The Council of Venice decreed in the early years of the Fourteenth Century that Hebrew, Arabic and Chaldaean should be taught in ~~the~~ Universities like Paris, Oxford, Salamanca and Bologne, but the decree appears to have remained unimplemented till Francis I, King of France, later put it into execution. Among the monkish orders, the Dominicans and the Franciscans were chosen to convert the Moslems by preaching and persuasion.

The third centre of contact was the field that was earlier thought to be the main factor - the wars of the Crusades in the Holy Land itself. This important chapter in the long history of hostility and war between the two sides had not unnaturally its cultural and linguistic sides. For a long period the Crusaders poured into Syria and Palestine and there established positions, estates and a Kingdom, which was later swept away by the revived power of Islam. But the contact there, while it lasted - and it lasted for centuries - had a tremendous impact on Moslem-Christian relations, an impact so great that historians until recent times considered the Crusades more important in the story of these relations than either Spain or Sicily. The first important result of the Crusades other than

the contact itself, may perhaps be the fact that they proved that brute force was not enough for Christian Europe to bring to an end the sway of Islam in the Levant and the Holy Land. The Crusades were themselves the highest and the last of a chain of military events in the story of hostility between the two sides.

Their failure comparatively heightened the importance of the peaceful means of combat- the way of persuasion, of evangelism. But during and in the wake of the Crusades the stage was full of soldiers, pilgrims, travellers, and not infrequently, traders, who filled the Eastern world with the stories, true or feigned, of their experiences in the Moslem East. Before the Crusades very little was known on the popular level in the West about Islam, and it was logical in their hostility and ignorance, for the people to believe the legends about Mohammad as God or Christian heretic or Anti-Christ, and about the Koran as another Moslem God, and about the idolatry of Moslems, and they were ready to believe the exaggerated stories of atrocities against the Christian Pilgrims in Palestine, exploited by Pope Urban II, and these deep-rooted hostile notions could not be changed overnight. Many wrong notions were added. Guilbert of Nogent ([illegible]) like Doughty in later days attacked the method of fighting used by the Moslems which he calls "a flying mode of warfare" and which he attributed to their weakness and their inability to fight.

Yet for the first time voices other than those of ignorance and invention are heard. Even on that point of fighting we find the author of "Gesta Francorum" commending their bravery. And on the stage Islam

had a champion far nobler and magnanimous than any leader of the Christian fold. The brutality of the Christian Crusader at the fall of Acre, repeated again at the occupation of Jerusalem, was there to compare with the kindness and mercy shown to them by Saladin on all occasions. When Frederick Barbarossa sent a messenger to Saladin, he came back full of praise for the Moslem leader and full of understanding of the tenets of Islam. Munro again quotes Ricardus, in the late Thirteenth Century in these words: ".... who is not amazed by their zeal, devotion in prayer, mercy to the poor, reverence for the name of God, the prophets and holy places, their courtesy in manners, their affability to strangers, their concord and love of one another?" But these as we have rightly said could not have stemmed the old ingrained hostility towards Islam. As Doughty was later to do, Ricardus explains away the noble aspects in the life of Moslems by making clear that what is good in them is natural, and shows itself <u>in spite of</u> Islam: "we have been amazed that among the followers of so perfidious a law, works of so great perfection are found".

The fourth period of intense contact, after Spain, Sicily and the Crusades, comes about very much later in years. The sway in the Moslem World has passed from Arab hands to Ottoman Turkish Sultans, a change which had far reaching consequences internally and externally. The Ottoman Turks were a roving tribe of warriors, whose main distinction was their military power and whose main interest was the expansion of their Empire. Culture and civilization and Religion were important factors, but important only in as much as they helped to buttress their temporal ascendancy. They were of a sterner more military stuff than

their predecessors in the leadership of Moslem Armies. Wherever they went their military power showed itself. Spread of culture or civilization was no urgent matter, and the propagation of Islam was not an aim they diligently pursued. At once they became the terror of Europe, as well as the brutal despots of the Near East. Constantinople fell, and their armies occupied the whole of the Balkan, and advanced as far as Vienna and Budapest. As far as Christian Europeans were concerned fear of the 'Turks' became the dominant emotion. As far as the Arab Near East was concerned it became a gradual movement towards the slough of ignorance and stagnation. The Moslems gradually lost the qualities for which the crusaders were all praise for them. And the hatred of Christian Europe, amplified by the fear of the Turks, became much more intense than it ever was. That hatred is well reflected as we have shown in the Mystery plays and the poetry and drama of the Renaissance. But by the time the Renaissance reached the shores of England in the Fifteenth Century, the power of the Turks began to dwindle, and the power of Europe began to soar. Fear was to remain at the back for a long time to come, but it was bound to come to an end. Not so was the hatred of the Turks or the hostility towards Islam. The Turks by their thrust into Europe had confirmed and perpetuated this old European feeling towards Islam and the Moslems. The possibility of having an objective unbiased perspective towards the religion of the Prophet became practically nil, and remains so perhaps until today.

And Europe, in the Renaissance, partly helped by the revival of Greek learning, before and after the fall of Constantinople in the hands of the Turks, emerged as a new strong tremendous power. There was everywhere

a quickening of the pulse, and a huge dynamism, and a spirit of adventure and discovery, which showed itself in almost all the fields of human endeavour. The Turk was repulsed and his danger stopped. Italian sailors and Spanish and Portuguese ships discovered a new world in the West. Englishmen went discovering to the North West. But that side does not concern us here. What concerns us more is perhaps the penetration of the Portuguese and the Dutch, followed by the French and the English around Africa to the southern tips of Arabia and India, a movement which was to reach its highest pitch in the days after Napoleon, the days of Queen Victoria, and the days into which our young poet was born. England in particular was busy with its European wrangles in the Sixteenth Century, with expansion westwards in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries and was to arrive late on the Eastern Stage. Englishmen in the Nineteenth Century carried on the Renaissance spirit of adventure and conquest in Africa and Asia. In the field of literature Doughty's study had led him to the Renaissance, but the affinity between the Renaissance Spirit and that of Doughty is very much wider and deeper than it appears at first sight. The battles of Christianity and Islam in the Europe of the Fifteenth Century were reflected in the literature of the age, as much as the hostility between Christianity and Islam in Africa and Asia in the Nineteenth Century is reflected, consciously or unconsciously, on the pages of the "Arabia". Doughty cannot be severed from the long history of Christian-Moslem relationship. The study of that history is important for the understanding of his emotional, intellectual and religious attitude towards the people of Arabia.

It is not only that he had studied and assimilated the works of Gower, Langland, Lydgate, Dunbar, Skelton, or that he had studied the mystery and miracle plays and the drama of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance or that he had been influenced by the stories of Elizabethan and Jacobean travellers in Hakluyt and Purchas, or known the writings of Erasmus and Scaliger, by choice and conviction, but that he was also born to the tradition and sucked it even unconsciously. His early studies were naturally not meant to be of Arabian or Islamic themes, but he could not escape being influenced by the spirit fused into what he read. The effect was bound to show itself when he came into direct contact with the world of Arabia. It is, in my opinion, unlikely that Doughty would have taken a different friendly stand on Islam even if he found the Moslems living happily in an earthly paradise and he was treated impeccably all through. How more unfriendly would he be when the Arab world was at that time in the Nadir of its long history, and when he was not himself happy in his stay with the Arabs? The personal grudge adds fuel to the old fire of hatred in European Christianity, and both elements are shown nakedly almost anywhere in the "Arabia".

Now where does Doughty stand in this whirlpool of religious controversy? Is he like Langland and Lydgate an enemy of Islam, ignorant of its teachings, and full of knowledge based only on the superstitious legends of Europe about Mohammad's character and ideas, yet secure in the assurance of his Christian Faith? Or is he like Sandys a professed enemy of superstitions anywhere, in Arabia or in Rome, but sure only of the righteousness of his own of non-conformist Christian~~ity~~ Protestantism

as the one and only Religious Way? Or is he a modern European Nineteenth Century scientist, who would not accept belief in the supernatural, and would thus be the enemy of religion at large? Or would he be, not a scientist basing his belief only on 'matter' and on human 'reason', but a free thinker, free from adherence to any fixed religion, yet ready to accept whatever is sound, according to the light of his own reason, in any religion or creed? (1)

It is, I think, possible at the start to disregard T.E. Lawrence's assertion that ".... in "Arabia Deserta" there is nothing very bad about Islam". (2) Any casual reading of any chapter in the two volumes of the book is enough to show that the enmity of Doughty to the religion of Mohammad was deep and profound. Almost any page would produce enough evidence to show that he was no less inimical towards Islam than any of the Medieval or Renaissance derogators of that creed. Although Doughty could not have adhered to their ignorant mixture of legend and superstition about Mohammad and Islam, for he knew better, and he studied facts, and he, unlike those early authors, came into direct contact with Arabia and the Arabs, yet his stand, his point of view, his intellectual outlook and his emotional disgust was like theirs, if not more profound and more outspoken. Like them he speaks of the 'ignominy of the Meccawy's religion'. (3) Like them he attacks the 'Mohammedan liberty of wiving',

(1) The problem is treated in Chapter I as part of Doughty's growth and in Chapter IX as part of his message.

(2) Lawrence's Letters, edit. by D. Garnett, Page 324.

(3) II, Chapter I, Page 4.

and attacks their belief in the "blind dogma of their religion", in their country "of crabbed religion". The jan they believe in is only the result of their unquiet consciences". Like the earliest of the Medieval and Renaissance writers, who believed in Christianity as the Religion and Islam as a deviation, he always calls it the "factious religion of Mohammad". Like the Crusaders, who believed in force as a means of defeating Islam, he believes that the Christian States which occupy Moslem countries should complete the job by occupying the "Islamic heart of Mecca". (1) Like the travellers who travelled to the Moslem lands in Islam's hour of civilized life and prosperity, he believed that what was good in the Moslems was theirs <u>in spite of</u> and not as a result of their religion. And unlike those early travellers, because he came to Arabia in Arabia's dark period of anarchy and dissolution, he considered Islam the main factor in the evil which he saw everywhere in the desert; for the "Moslem religion ever makes numbness and death in some part of the humen understanding". (2) If there is anything good in the Arabs it is called "the godly humanity of the wilderness", (3) but all the evil goes back to the fanaticism of the religion of "Mahound, apostle of Allah".(4) Even their language is wonderful, but when it comes to the Koran, Doughty could never find but a headache in the "farrago of the Koran". (5)

(1) "Arabia Deserta II", Chapter III, Page 53.

(2) "Arabia Deserta II", Chapter I, Page 7.

(3) ~~and~~ (4) "Arabia Deserta II", Chapter III, Page 51.

(5) "Arabia Deserta II", Chapter III, Page 51.

Now if this is nothing 'very' bad about Islam, as T.E. Lawrence says one wonders what more could Lawrence have the Moslems consider as 'bad' or 'very bad'. By itself it is enough, but it is just one link in the chain of abuse which has continued since it started in the Middle Ages, right down to the modern ago. Facts are not weighed objectively but are coloured by the venom instilled into Doughty's mind in his readings of the Medieval and Renaisnance writers before he left the shores of Britain on to the Continent. Their age was most of the time in dire combat against the forces of Islam, and his age was not altogether different from theirs. European States, mixing Politics and Religion, were then fighting against Islam on the shores of the Mediterranean, and they were now in Doughty's time fighting against Islam in Africa and in Asia. In their time there was a movement towards the conversion of Moslems to the Christian Creed, and in his there was a strong evangelising movement. Doughty was certainly aware of this movement.

In addition to the call he sends to the Christian Powers colonizing Moslem peoples to occupy Mecca, he refers to the missionaries in Syria, where 'European Evangelists have been the salt of the earth in these fifty years', (1) and where he admits 'they have not made five proselytes' (2) among the Moslems. One would think that Doughty was heart and soul for the conversion of the Moslems to a creed in which he believed. If one were Christian, and believed that Christianity would lead to the salvation

(1) "Arabia Deserta" II, Page 373.

(2) "Arabia Deserta" II, Page 374.

of Man, it would be natural, nay, logical and 'right', to try to convert everybody. It becomes not only 'a duty', but more than that, it becomes a 'kind', 'generous' and 'human' act, to lead the blind gently to the right way, to beatitude and happiness in this world, and the world to come. That is the logical sequence of believing in the 'right way'. "... he who believed should be saved, and ... he who believed not, should be damned", says St. Paul. What is 'right' and 'generous' and 'human' for a Christian who believes in his religion as the 'only religion', cannot be less generous and 'right' for the Moslem who believes in his creed as the only way. This, if we were 'just', should be the spirit in which we should consider the 'naive' attempts of temptation put forward by these ignorant Bedouins to convert Doughty to Islam.

But Doughty was haughty and proud, a man with a confident conviction in himself, his race and his beliefs as being superior to those among whom he came to live, but 'Pride' is the greatest and most dangerous of the seven deadly sins. And 'pride' in this case seems not to have been based on a belief in Christianity, as the only way. Although he obstinately proclaimed himself as Khalīl the Christian, there is more than one proof that Doughty's Christianity in Arabia was [illegible] an outer garment to cover an individual body of beliefs within, different from that of the majority of his fellow Christians. "There is no evidence", says A. Trencor, "that he considered the Christian revelation any more capable of withstanding what he called 'the salt of science' than the Mohammedan". (1) "He said",

(1) Trencor: Chapter II, Page 46.

she says, "that it would have cost him little to have confessed himself a follower of Confucius or Socrates". Thus Doughty does not seem to represent an ardent belief in Christianity as the Churches practice it. The controversies in the world of thought about the middle of the Nineteenth Century had succeeded in eroding the ground of religious beliefs in the mind of this second son of an Anglican priest. (1) Nowhere does Doughty set himself up to a clear discussion of this thorny problem, and most of the writers on his works have somehow managed to leave it unsettled. Yet there are straws in Doughty's life and works that show which way the wind was blowing. In his scientific studies he was constantly in contact with the 'substantial' as opposed to the 'theoretical' and 'unsubstantial'. We have already commented upon his refusal to side with the established ways of authority and tradition in his decision to emigrate from Caius College, where the Simeonite influences were great, to the radical freedom of a new College at Downing, where he could pursue his own studies uninterrupted by religious and academic strictures. We have also discussed his choice of authors among the contemporary thinkers. Herbert Spencer's writings at that time were stirring and poking much trouble for the religious authorities and the religious-minded people of Britain. Herbert Spencer was the friend of T.H. Huxley and J. Stuart Mill, and the propagator of Darwinism before Darwin was known to the general reading public. He was the champion of the individual against society, and science against religion.

(1) Read the discussion in Chapter I.

He was the prophet of evolution and progress, and the great exponent of Victorian optimism, and the inventor of that most famous, and by now most hackneyed phrase, "the survival of the fittest". To his works Doughty was drawn in his undergraduate days, and his belief in him was so great that he introduced his works to his fellow-students.(1) There is no doubt then that Doughty himself was not for formal Christianity. That definite stand shows itself in certain limited parts of "Arabia Deserta", which would be hard to explain or even impossible to account for if the fact is not known and established beforehand - that Doughty was no Christian in the normal and formal use of the word.

But the fact is corroborated in another untapped store of information on Doughty. By that I mean his "Notes". (2) In this there are two main difficulties. One is that the "Notes" cover such a long span of Doughty's life that it is difficult to pin down any part of it as belonging to a definite period of his life. The other difficulty is that the range of his sources is so wide that it becomes difficult to decide which of the notes are his own and which of them are simple quotations from other authors. Still they show the way. It is enough, if they were quotations, that he has quoted these and no others. Let us choose some examples. Under the word 'Religion', he writes:

> "a Belief is in other matter a vain thing a self-conceit, a self-liking"

(1) See E.R. Lankaster's letter quoted by Hogarth (P. 6) That letter and others were kindly shown to me by Mr. W. Cuttle, Librarian of Downing College.

(2) Caius College Library.

> "... we embrace the cloudy idol of our imaging, born of men's minds. (1) twilight births and masque of human faiths, supported by (decided) argument which fails upon better knowledge" "... fear, awe, dread of the unknown."

Under the word 'Priest', a word he later brings in the Prophetic Books is used: "mystagodery" and there again he writes, "God gives us so little and we serve him so richly."

Under the word 'Proverb', he enumerates some sayings, one of which goes:

"An ounce of mother wit is worth a pound of Clergy".

About 'asceticism' he says under 'Stultus', that it is,

"the wise folly natural to mankind"

And then come the various denominations of Christianity, of which Doughty's knowledge must have been enormous, for the period chosen as the golden age of the English language and literature, the authors of which Doughty has read fully and studied minutely, is itself a period rich in Christian controversies. There is no author I know other than Doughty who has mastered to the greatest extent all the writings of the authors of the Renaissance and the Reformation. More, Erasmus, Scaliger, Elyot, Latimer were all familiar to him (2). Like some of them he attacks Catholicism and writes in the "Notes" under 'Pope':

> "Peter was at Rome never but it is true because they would have it so."
>
> "There cannot be imagined a machine more terrible enslaving the human mind an hydra of horrible weight and wide presence and cruelty (and all rulers) Monsters."
>
> ".... and the pig of a pope is sitting on his stool like a paddock on a mushroom" ".... he has been so long there that all Europe (stinks of him)....." ".... popery the most monstrous fraud...."

(1) Compare: "Arabia Deserta" II, 381.

(2) See Chapters I and II.

Against the other side, of extreme puritanism, he has written in the "Notes" under 'Puritan', the words, ".... crop-eared", and later in "Arabia Deserta" he was to liken a foolish sheikh to a 'Roundhead'.

Thus one should not be astonished at all at the way in which Doughty's "Arabia Deserta" deals with the various religions. To attack Islam is to be expected, yet the attack on the 'Old Testament' seems to have been an inexplicable phenomenon to most of the critics of "Arabia Deserta", so none of them even refers to it. For Doughty, who was supposedly a formal Christian lost in the admittedly alien world of Islam, does not only attack Mohamed. He puts Mohamed in a list of names, not unfamiliar to Moslems, but certainly strange to any Christian reader, when he writes, "Moses, David, Mohammed all are one in this; as leaders of Semitic factions they are ethnicides". (1) To call Mohammed that is not new, but for a Christian to say that about David is certainly new, and certainly the result of the Nineteenth Century dismemberment of Religion, to which we have referred in Chapter I. That Doughty would refer to David's 'treachery' in his dealings with the Moabites, for example, would have been sacrilege to any of the priests in his family circle in Suffolk, but natural to the new freedom of the man of science. Yet no scientist would have gone so far as to say about these prophets, "With the sword of the destroying Angel, they hew God's way before them in the wood of God's world". As usual Doughty was too much a fighter, too 'arrogant' to restrain himself to the facts of science and leave it there. The attack must proceed and must go far. For if the Arabs

(1) "Arabia Deserta" I, 23.

are Semites, thus also were the Jews, and in his racial attacks on the 'Semites' he would not spare the 'Beni Israel' and their 'Greediness'.

It is clear then that Doughty, in the thorny problem of Religion and Science, believed in science and took the stand against formal religion. He felt free to attack, and to attack in an unnecessarily brutish way, Roman Catholicism, Puritanism, Judaism and Islam. If that were the end of the story it would have carried some consolation to the Moslems of Arabia, to be paired with the followers of the sister-creeds. But the Arabs met and knew and lived with 'KhalĪl', and KhalĪl acted and spoke always like a Christian. To them he was not a modern agnostic, even if they could understand what that meant, but a Christian. The attack on Islam in "Arabia Deserta" then should be considered in the larger context of Doughty's ideas on religion, for formal religion itself, and not only Islam seems to be the butt of Doughty's harsh treatment. It is true that the attack on Islam is the fiercest, and that Judaism, as a faith, is hardly mentioned, though Jewish prophets like Moses and David are not spared, and that Jews as a branch of the Semitic Race bear a great part of the onslaught. Christianity is also a religion, and as such should have been included in Doughty's attack, and sometimes the attack <u>seems</u> to be very near under the surface, unable perhaps because of personal social considerations, to flourish and appear on the surface.

To attack Islam was a long tradition in which Doughty enjoyed the fellowship of many a great European writer. To attack the history of the Jews, and deal critically with the acts of their prophets and Kings, as recorded in the Old Testament, was a new-fangled Nineteenth Century

innovation, and in neither was there any danger of an open break with his readers and his countrymen. But Doughty's background of an Anglican family tradition, and the fact that he was writing for a Christian, and not an agnostic, public, a book which could not be published except with the help of Christian bodies, and religious men, might have had a great effect in suppressing or at least in screening his real leanings in "Arabia Deserta". When we later come to Doughty's last message in "Mansoul" we are bound to deal with his basic ideas on "Religion" and show that "Religion" as such was very much acceptable to him, (1) and that his attacks were against <u>formal</u> religion. In "Mansoul" there is a calm deliberation and a quiet search, but in the "Arabia" Doughty was not in a generous mood. All the vigour of his youth, all the untamed vehemence of his nature, all the unexpressed frustrations and disappointments of his early orphan life are channelled towards this damning attack on the Arabs and their prophet. Thus should "Arabia Deserta" be considered as Doughty himself says, possibly without realizing how true his words were, "I pray that nothing be looked for in this book but the seeing of an hungry man and the telling of a most weary man".

That weariness of body and soul, showed itself in the emotions expressed as much as in the judgements passed. "..... I have set down, that which I saw with my eyes, and heard with my ears and thought in my

1) "When some of the young courtiers had asked me 'Fen rubbak', 'Where is thy Lord God?' I answered them very gravely, Fî kull makán', 'The Lord is in every place'" writes Doughty. ("Arabia Deserta" II, Chapter III, Page 48.)

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heart". Eyes sometimes are blurred, ears sometimes mishear, and the heart is almost always the wrong arbiter. When European critics of Doughty make of him almost a Christian martyr or saint, white, pure and angelic, thrown into the den of fanatic Moslems and fiendish Arabs, we must remember that self-dramatization is different from martyrdom, and that Khalīl was no less blameworthy than his Arab attackers. As he says in "Arabia Deserta" II, Chapter III, Page 53 "It is a passion to be a pointing-stock for every finger".

Doughty is at least honest in that all what had passed in his inner soul is given to us as it came to pass. Self-dramatization is aesthetically an advantage, and aesthetically speaking we are glad to have it as it appears on the pages of the "Arabia". But it is a grave mistake to apply moral rules and pass moral judgements and evaluate creeds and men on an aesthetic basis. An ugly man might be the purest of men. On the other hand Narcissus died in the contemplation of his own beauty. The artistic excellences of the "Arabia" should not obscure the moral shortcomings of the author in Arabia and inordinately outburden the scales on his side against those he chooses to be the butt for his attacks.

If he were objective, he would have seen that both his Christianity and Islam were of the same nature, and that <u>both</u> (and not only Islam) were not based on logic. To attack Moslems <u>only</u> by saying that "their fables [were] irrational" ("Arabia Deserta" II, Chapter V, Page 131) is hardly just. To attack Islam <u>only</u> is hardly less just. Hamud's prayer is the repetition of all the sayings of "his superstitious devotion" ("Arabia

Deserta" II, Chapter II, Page 29). The jan do not exist and the branches of a palm tree are said to have been the jan " of their unquiet consciences" ("Arabia Deserta" II, Chapter I, Page 3). Doughty must have known that superstitions were no monopoly of the Arabs and Islam, but were the property of all humanity either in Europe or Africa. (1) But prejudice is prejudice and no fair words can change it. The salt of science which he said could destroy Islam and Arab fables (2) could, if he were to apply it there equally destroy Christianity and European fables. And if you believe in religion, any religion, you cannot attack another religion using logical or scientific arguments. Faith and not logic or science, is the basis of religious belief, and Doughty knew that very well. He later expressed it in "Mansoul" but at the moment all his concern is to use this and all for an attack on Islam and the Arabs. He even knew more - that Islam as far as it goes, is more 'logical' (if the term can be allowed in a religious controversy) than Christianity. The simple single Oneness of God seems indeed clearer and more logical than the mysteries of Christianity's "Three-in-One". The metaphysics of Islam were still nearer to Doughty's own brand of Christianity - Unitarianism - than the other denominations of formal Christianity like Catholicism or Anglicanism or Presbyterianism or

(1) "The Evil eye is part of the Semitic superstition. The darling of the body is the eye, the window of the soul, and they imagine her malign influence to stream forth thereat." ("Arabia Deserta", I, Chapter XII, Page 333.)

(2) "All lost labour, for a vain opinion, a little salt of science would dissolve all their religion!" ("Arabia Deserta", I, Chapter II, Page 53.)

Orthodoxism. But Doughty's hostility was not rational; it was mostly emotional. "It amazed me" he says about the Italian Moslem he met in Ḥayil, "that one born in the Roman country, and under the name of Christ, should waive these prerogatives to become the brother of Asiatic barbarians in a fond religion." Religion thus was made into a knot with country and race, and Christianity was looked at as the Religion of civilized Europe, while Islam was the 'fond religion' of Asiatic barbarians. Pride in race and country and Continent are at the heart of his attitude, not religion pure and simple. At the heart of his attitude was the contempt of a haughty English aristocrat, proud of his race and the culture and civilization of his country, and blind to the defects which must have been there at home. The England he draws in "Arabia Deserta" to the wonder of the poor ignorant Bedouins (See, for example, "Arabia Deserta" I, Page 297) was rather an ideal England purified of all the squalor and misery of its over-crowded industrial slums. It is indeed hard to draw the lines in Doughty between mere jingoism, or pure racialism or simple naked self-importance and Christianity. When he refused marriage or concubines he says that "they ascribed it to the integrity of the Christian faith". ("Arabia Deserta" II, Page 4), but one can never know if this was 'self' or 'religion'.

If it were a matter of religion only, let us record the long list of Doughty's jottings in the diary of his earlier European travels in Christian lands. Hogarth (Page 10) records his words against the people and town of Louvain, in Holland. Hogarth also (Pages 10-11)

mentions the hostility of the French towards Doughty when they mistook him for a Prussian. The people of Louvain were Protestants, and the French were Catholics. In Syracuse (Sicily) Doughty's attack was directed against what this time he calls 'the lower orders of the people'. In Algeria nobody showed fanaticism against his Christianity, yet he attacks 'the miserable vehicle' and the 'beastly passengers'. At Biskra (Algeria) he borrowed a pistol (the same caution as that which he took in Arabia) (1) but he put it away three days later because "with the friendly complaisance, gentleness and hearty kindness of the Arabs", he was "very pleased and contented." (See Hogarth, Page 14). Wherever he went the criterion does not seem to have been an objective evaluation of the situation and its pros and cons, but a personal view based upon his own reactions to the situation, the country and the people he comes into contact with. Nothing is wrong with that, as long as it is not taken as an objective recording of the truth about people, countries and creeds. Opinions adopted through emotions are inaccessible to and unsuitable for logical arguments. They are based on the flux of changing emotions, on the whims of an inconstant ego. This is a universal law no less applicable in the case of Doughty and the Arabia.

For Doughty was conscious of his <u>own</u> importance, as much as he was conscious of the importance of his being an Englishman, a European and a Christian. KhalĪl, Englishman, European, white and Christian are words of praise and pride on the pages of the Arabia in contrast to

(1) "My pistol of six chambers gave me this confidence in Arabia....." ("Arabia Deserta" II, Page 72).

the words Arab, Asiatic, black and Moslem used mostly as words of contempt and derogation. Now loyalty to oneself, to one's country, to one's own milieu or religion is commendable - to an extent. For in all loyalty there is a drop of egotism. The blind conviction that your own line is superior to other ways leads to the exclusion of objective thinking, and inevitably produces a misplaced personal pride and breeds snobbery and fanaticism. That was indeed the grievous sin of most of the Arab slanderers of Khalīl in Arabia, and it showed most among the ignorant, the infirm or the pedants. But fanaticism was never the property of Islam and the Arabs only. In his introduction to "Early Voyages and Travels in the Levant" (London, 1893), J.T. Bent tells the funny story of one 'John the Quaker' who in 1661, arrived at Constantinople and began to preach repentance to the Turks <u>in his own native language</u> at street corners! The Turks, not unnaturally looked at him as a lunatic and put him in a mad-house. When his nationality was discovered, he was taken before Lord Winchilsea, the English Ambassador. When he went in to meet the Ambassador, he refused to remove his hat, and was consequently bastinadoed. When he was searched, a letter was discovered in his pocket addressed to the Sultan, politely telling him that he was the scourge employed by God to punish wicked Christians!

When a traveller arrives at a country, the first rule of correct behaviour is not to look down upon the people whom you visit, (1)

(1) That is the advice given by Doughty himself through the words of Confucius in "Mansoul" (Page 72.)

and if you feel that, not to make it clear to them. The darkest, if not the most dangerous, hour of KhalÎl in Arabia seems to have been the months spent in Kheybar. Now let us look into his behaviour there. When the (police) came to accompany him to the Aga, his words were, "Tell me, before we go further, will ye kill me without the house?" which in its naivety could be matched only with the questions of some Arabians in the book. As if the soldiery would admit it even if they were going to kill him! But more important perhaps is the doubt and suspicion and the fear which underlie the simple words. The consequences were as Doughty says, "I had secretly taken my pistol under my tunic, at the first alarm". When the soldiers bring him in front of the 'aga', Doughty's thoughts were, "In what land, I thought, am I arrived! And who are these that take me (because of Christ's sweet name!) for an enemy of mankind?" But among the crowd he says many had responded "Mâ aleyk, mâ aleyk, take comfort, ... there shall no evil happen to thee." One of these was Mohammed en-Nejumy, his great friend and protector in Kheybar. It is he, and not the hidden pistol that was the refuge of KhalÎl in Kheybar. "The Nejumy", says Doughty, " - since a white man is the black people's uncle - was called in the town Amm Mohammed" - which represents more Doughty's own consciousness and distinction of colour than that of the Arabs. He must have known that any elderly man among the Arabs be he rich or poor, great or humble, black or red is reverently called 'uncle'.

Indeed the whole Kheybar episode overflows with Doughty's own feelings of racial pride and discrimination. Nothing is more abhorrent

than the words of abuse which fill this part of the book, against the black people of Kheybar and its governor. Abdulla was still the ruler of that community, to whom all, black and white, including the Nejumy showed reverence. The Nejumy "sat with his sword upon his knees, bowing and assenting, at every word, to the black villain Abdulla: this is their Turkish town courtesy." But he, Doughty, was different. In a quarrel with Abdulla, these are Khalīl's words, "If thou strike me, it will be at thy peril. My hosts, how may this lieutenant of a dozen soldiery rule a village, who cannot rule himself?..... Sâlih the sheykh of Kheybar, hear how this coward threatens to strike a guest in thy house; and will ye suffer it my hosts?" Is it strange that "Abdulla rose and struck me brutally in the face"? Then Doughty cried, "Sâlih.... and you that sit here, are you free men? I am one man, infirm and a stranger, who have suffered so long, and unjustly, - you all have seen it! at this slave's hands .... if I should hereafter remember to complain of him, it is likely he will lose his office." ("Arabia Deserta" II, 210). Was it not right for the Arabian host, El-Nejumy, to draw his attention: "The Nejumy blamed my plain speaking: I had no wit, he said, to be a traveller!"? And is the Arabian's judgement wrong when he said about Khalīl, "I have found a man that will not befriend himself"?

Nor was this the only example. "Whenever Abdulla entered the coffee-room his audience, and even the Nejumy, rose to the black village governor, and I remained sitting". But Doughty who in the "Arabia" tries to draw a picture of himself as the hunted, always maligned

weary man, is not content on discourtesy himself, but censures other people for being courteous. (1) "Amm Mohammed, when I twitted him, at home, answered cheerfully 'that he did not lout to Abdullah, but to the Dowla'."

In the instance quoted above Khalīl had resorted to the integrity of Sheykh Sālih as his host, although he had gone to Sālih's house uninvited. But Sālih himself on another occasion was the object of Khalīl's discourtesy. "Sheykh Sālih one afternoon coming in after me, - 'Room (cries the bellowing voice of Sirûr) for Sheykh Sâlih, rise! make room, Khalīl, for the sheykh'." - "Sālih, I said, may find another seat." And then follows one of those bitter lines overflowing from the heart, the galled proud heart of a man haughty in his consciousness of his race, his colour and his aristocratic origins: "Abdulla, who felt himself a slave, might not, in such thing, question with the White Nasrany; and Sālih mildly let his lame weight down in the next place."

Sālih was the elder of the Kheybar community and Abdulla was the governor and head of police. I wonder what would have happened to an Arab who, uninvited, walked into a gathering in a Suffolk town, and behaved like that to the Mayor, and the Chief of Police! When Sirûr objected, Khalīl spoke plainly, "I have wandered in many lands, many years, and with a swine such as thou art, I have not met in any place." I sometimes wonder if that behaviour of the representative of 'Christianity' as Khalīl says he was in Arabia, was a credit to the mild gentle faith of

(1) As early as Medain Salih he was to call Arab courtesy, "..... the durghill oriental grace and false courtesy." "Arabia Deserta", I, Page 87).

Christ, which considers pride as the first of the deadly sins, and considers humility the sign of the saint, or if 'Islam', 'the manly religion of vigorous humanity', in letting that man go free and safe, was in any way inferior.

Nor does Doughty show the generosity or even the justice expected in a real Christian. Is it not possible that the real tragedy of Khalīl in Arabia lay in his behaviour, and not in his 'Christianity'? Fanaticism was there in Arabia no doubt as it exists now in Christian countries (1) even in civilized Christian Europe, even in clashes among its own various denominations. Doughty himself was not free from it. Yet Arabia and the Arabs have known, and accepted, Christians in Nejd and Northern Hejaz. At the beginning of his journey, Doughty was encouraged to go, by many of his Moslem friends, ("Arabia Deserta" I, Page 2 & 3). They also told him of Christian masons who went, not long ago, to mend the water-tower at Madain Sālih ("Arabia Deserta" I, Page 3). Doughty again repeats the story of a Christian Damascene who annually travelled to sell his wares in Ḥāyil, and whose wares were once stolen, but were returned and justice done to him by Metaab, then Prince of Shammar ("Arabia Deserta" II, Page 32). Even in the most fanatic part of all Arabia, the Wahabi stronghold of Southern Nejd, he was told Nasranies could travel peaceably ".... have not other Nasranies visited er-Riâth (peaceably)?" ("Arabia Deserta" II, Page 36). Doughty must have known that some Arab Christians of the Levant, were

(1) About Ethiopia, which is a Christian country under a Christian ruler, Iwarson wrote that as late as 1924 "Christian and Moslem never take food together....."

indeed descendants of ancient Christian tribes of Arabia, and could trace their Christian religion as well as their ancestry to the days before the rise of Islam. If fanaticism were fundamental in Islam and universal among Arabs, neither they nor he, could have lived.

The only part of Arabia prohibited to non-Moslems, and diligently guarded by Moslems, were the two Holy Cities of Mecca and Medina. Everywhere else, the possibilities of good relations between Moslem and Christian existed, and depended on the qualities of the two sides concerned. In the case of KhalĪl, shortcomings were in him as much as they were in <u>some</u> of the Arabs he had met, and there is no justice or use in censuring their deeds and leaving him with an angelic halo. A simple example is what KhalĪl tells us had happened between him and Hamûd Ibn RashĪd. For Hamud's character shines on the peges of the book with his worldly wisdom. The darker side of him as a member of the ruling dynasty and a partaker in the tragedies and the oppression of the House of Ibn Rasheyd, did not touch KhalĪl at all. To KhalĪl he was all kindness, and no visitor to any land could expect better treatment. "But tell me (said the son of Abeyd), do the better sort in your country never buy the Circass women?..... ... I responded with some warmth, 'To buy human flesh is not so much as named in my country: as for all who deal in slaves <u>we are appointed by God to their undoing</u>'..... Hamûd was a little troubled, because I showed him some flaws in their manners, some heathenish shadows in his religion where there was no spot in ours, and had vaunted our naval hostility, ..." It is not only that Hamud's princely kindness was

thus unnecessarily answered in discourtesy. It is also that pride in race and country is brought in again unnecessarily. It is also - and this is perhaps the worst of all - that religion itself is linked with his racial, and personal pride. If the logic of it was clear one could have excused it. Religion is dragged, as it is everywhere in the "Arabia", into topics which are not fundamentally religious topics.

The linking of Islam with slavery and Christianity with freedom is indeed the popular fiction of modern Europe. The movement for the abolition of slavery was a modern intellectual and social movement brought about by the gradual enlightenment of European thought in modern times. It is the direct consequence of the Renaissance and the Enlightenment, and it was only in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries that the movement began to bear fruit. Islam was then centuries old, and Christianity was even older. Slavery was ripe in the successive centuries of Christianity in both East and West, as it was ripe in the Islamic World. In both religious communities, at their best manifestations, there was a realization of Man's sacred entity, as the image of God and the highest of God's creation and a <u>tendency towards</u> freeing the enslaved individual. But in neither was there a clear-cut direct condemnation of slavery. If there were such a thing in Christianity how is it possible to account for the existence of slavery in all the centuries of past history in Christian lands? Slavery in the Southern United States was never said to have made the slave-owners heretics or renegades. Englishmen in the Renaissance buying and selling slaves were never said to be heathens. Nor was it possible for the

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Christian heads of European Powers to cite Christianity in their condemnation of individual slavery and at the same time justly occupy countries and enslave whole tribes and nations.

There is no point in dragging Christianity and Islam into the discussion of a social problem the existence of which is noticeable in backward societies everywhere, and its abolition noticeable in progressive countries everywhere. When Doughty was writing about Arabia, and about the existence of slavery in Mecca and Jidda, there were Christian countries where slavery was officially permitted. Christian England prohibited it. Moslem Egypt prohibited it. But Moslem Arabia allowed it, and Christian Ethiopia allowed it. As late as 1930 Negroes from the hinterland of Liberia were kidnapped and sold by 'christian' traders to work as slaves in the plantations of 'Fernando Po' which was under the sovereignty of His Most Catholic Majesty, the then King of Spain. (Officially reported and repudiated by the reports of the 'League of Nations'.) Nobody tried to pin the sinful deeds of those 'Christians' on Christianity itself. Why then try to pin the sins of 'Moslems' on Islam? Doughty was nearer the correct way of reasoning when he referred in this subject of slavery to 'the common religion of humanity', and 'the health of nations', but as usual the right words were again used for the wrong cause. They are used to urge the Colonial Powers to occupy more countries and enslave more peoples. "It were good for the Christian governments," says Doughty, "which hold any of the Mohammedan provinces, to consider that till then (the occupation of Mecca) they may never quietly possess them." ("Arabia Deserta" II, Page 53).

Here again Christianity is dragged into the problems of European governments and their military occupation of foreign lands and subjugation of peoples.

Yet Doughty who uses Christianity in these military occupational problems, does not refrain from repeating the old description of Islam as the religion of the sword: "The Arabian religion of the sword must be tempered by the sword". - As if Christianity had spread all over Europe and America and in parts of Africa and Asia through persuasion and convincing arguments and gentle words only. As if the Christian World were all peace and no war. Christians no less than Moslems used swords, rifles and guns. Doughty's knowledge of history, past and present, must have told him that there were no wars as brutal as the wars of modern Christian Europe, when Christians fought against non-Christians as well as when they fought amongst themselves, Christion against Christian. The gentle religion of Christ was forgotten when the Crusaders, for example, sacked Acre and Jerusalem and put thousands of innocent civilians to the sword after the battle, and said they did that for the glory of Christianity and under the banner of the Cross. The irony of the situation is that Doughty in the same sentence where he calls Islam the religion of the sword and in the same breath asks Christians to occupy Mecca: "and were the daughter of Mecca and Medina led captive, the Moslemîn should become as jews!" The irony is again apparent in that Khalīl, the self-appointed representative of Christianity in Arabia, thought himself safe, depending not on the Lord, but on the hidden pistol which he carried. ("Arabia Deserta" II, Page 72).

With this tradition of Islam and the sword, let us link the story told many a time, but proved an unfounded invention, the story of Omar, the second Calif, and the burning of the famous Library of Alexandria: "It was Amar who burned the letters of the former world." And then Doughty explains why. "It seemed", he says "to his short Semitic understanding that these had profited nothing unto the knowledge of the true God, and of His saving Religion!" ("Arabia Deserta", II, Pages 360-1). The Library of Alexandria was in fact burnt centuries before Islam, mainly in the Roman Civil Wars between Caesar and Pompey. (1) But anything to discredit Islam was a welcome legend.

With this alleged disrespect of Omar for learning, must be added another old gibe repeated on the pages of the "Arabia" - that the Semites had no flare for science. In the "Arabia Deserta" (I, Page 101) he writes, "The nations of Islam, of a barbarous forlike understanding, and persuaded in their religion, that 'knowledge is only of the Koran', cannot now come upon any way that is good". Comparing his knowledge with that of the Arabs he says that even the educated Damascenes had no "more than infantile mind in geography. These are not Semitic arts: the Semitic arts are of human malice, and of the sensitive life." ("Arabia Deserta", II, Page 398). Putting that last unjust slap against the Semites aside, one must again object to this constant habit of

(1) Other stories are told about the causes and the time of the burning of that famous library. One wonders if Doughty ever heard of the story of its destruction by the Christian mob of the city led by Christian monks under Theophilus, Patriarch of Alexandria, and uncle to St. Cyril. At the time of Theophilus and Cyril the pagan temples of the city were burnt, the philosophers persecuted, and famous 'Hypatia' hacked to pieces, and the pieces of her body thrown into the fire. (See P. 54-55 of A History of the Conflict between Religion & Science by J. W. Draper: 1883.)

generalization, passing sweeping judgements on scanty knowledge gained at a given time and a limited place. Doughty was not the all-knowing erudite man he thought himself to be or he would have known that other writers before him even described the plutonic harras and the geography he thought he was the first to describe. The Historian Al-Semhūdi, for example, recorded an eruption at El-Medina in A.D.1256. Doughty must have known of the time in the Middle Ages when European thinkers visited Islamic countries to gain knowledge and wisdom they could not get at home, and European Kings employed Arab scientists in their places. (1) In geography in particular the great 'Idrissi' was the crown of King Frederick's court at Palermo. But days change and peoples like people grow old. Doughty visited Arabia at a time when Arabia was at its worst period of confusion, ignorance and backwardness, while Europe and in particular his own England was at the height of progress, knowledge and civilization. The fundamental fallacy of Doughty's approach is his insistence upon the justice of the comparison now and here, between the two.

Another 'defect' he picks is the traditional European gibe at the Islamic licence of polygamy, or as he puts it the "Mohammedan liberty of wiving". ("Arabia Deserta", II, Page 30). Here again Doughty is more emotionally inimical than logical. Speaking about the financial effects of that he says, "Mohammed has made every follower of his, with his many spending and vanishing wives, a walker upon quicksands;

(1) All this was discussed earlier in the chapter.

but Christ's religion contains a man in all, which binds him in single marriage". ("Arabia Deserta" I, Page 24). Islam prevents usury and betting while Christianity does not, and Doughty has not spoken against Christianity because of the bad financial effects of these licences. Now Islam makes it clear that one wife for a man is the rule, but the door was not closed for more because a fast rule would leave no outlet for impossible or difficult situations (1) like the death by war or otherwise of thousands of men. Modern European countries after the wars, have discovered that, and extra-matrimonial connections are the bane of European Society - an ignominy worse than that of polygamy. Doughty again refers to polygamy when he says that "men, the ignominy of the Meccawy's religion, too often complained of inability", as if men complain of inability only if they were polygamous, or as if that complaint was never heard in Christian Countries.

The main fault here seems to be the fault usual among most travellers of applying the symptoms of the part as if they were the faults of the whole. Limited though Doughty's experiences were, there are no limitations to his generalization. For example, he says "I saw many hypochondriacs" which is possible, but then goes direct to say, "they are a third of all the Arabians" ("Arabia Deserta" II, I, Page.5), which no Statistician can prove! Although he has never been to Mecca

(1) The Jewish Encyclopaedia relates that in Italy down to the Seventeenth Century, a person whose wife was barren was allowed by papal licence to take a second wife. Certain Christian sects in the U.S.A. allow polygamy among their adherents.

or Medina, he speaks about "the dens of savage life, under criminal governors, in the Holy Cities!" ("Arabia Deserta", II, I, Page 18). Depending on one incident and one story, he assures us that "The Arabians take no captives" ("Arabia Deserta" II, Page 22) which cannot possibly be true. Similar to that again is, "..... though they be full of knavish humour, I never saw among the Arabians a merry man!" ("Arabia Deserta" II, Page 85) which is truer about the writer himself than about the whole Arab nation.

This tendency to pass quick judgements, and express hasty opinions, forces him perhaps unconsciously to draw upon his own natural tendencies or previously acquired knowledge than on the facts of Arabia. See for instance his treatment of the circumcision. He seems to have considered it as one of the essential requirements of Islam, when it is nothing but a traditional custom, which existed in Arabia centuries before the advent of Islam. Islam did not prohibit it, nor did it make it a necessary religious rule, but it left it as it was - an age-old social custom, a preparation of the individual to carry out in time his functions as a member of human society and a propagator of future human generations. (1) One reason for the confusion in Doughty's mind is the word used for circumcision, which among its other meanings, might mean 'purification', but not in the purely religious sense. About a child

(1) Compare Doughty with "Purchas his Pilgrimage" (4th Edition, London, 1626) (Page 228) "Their circumcision they observed, as some write, at the thirteenth year of their age, imitating Ismael therein".

lately circumcised, Doughty writes, "As I came by the first tent the child a moment before had been made a Moslem...." ("Arabia Deserta", I, Page 391). On page 392 again he quotes the mother of a circumcised child, ..."and she comforting him in her bocom, bade him be glad that he was now entered into the religion of Islam", which is certainly erroneous. A little more investigation shows that circumcision was a universal human rite, linked at first with paganism (e.g. New Guinea tribes have it still) and with the earlier religions. (1) Judaism included it in the Mosaic Law, and called it 'Abraham's Seal'. Early Christians practised it, and Eastern Christians still do until today. The Christian festival of the circumcision of Jesus, for example, is celebrated on the 1st of January. The Moslems also observe it, but it is not part of the law of Islam. Thus the Arabs knew better when he asked them, "What be the duties of a Moslem?" they responded "That a man fast in the month, and recite his daily prayers", making no mention of the circumcision, which they call 'purification'." ("Arabia Deserta" I, Page 342). Doughty looks at circumcision as if it were the 'baptism' in the case of Christianity, while the only baptism needed in Islam is the 'profession' - "I profess that there is no God but God and that Mohammed is His Apostle".

Strangest of all perhaps is the way ("Arabia Deserta" I, Page 136-7) in which Doughty writes about the Bigger Bairam, "At Christmas time there fell a pious Mohammedan festival, eth-thahfa, when a sheep is

(1) Doughty knew that (See "Arabia Deserta" II, Page 379) but he thinks wrongly that it is part of the Islamic Creed.

slaughtered....." which he should have known as the great pilgrim festival, commemorating the story of Abraham about to slaughter Ishmael his son, the building of the Kaaba, and the reason for the Islamic Haj and Arafat. Yet he calls that most central theme "a pious Mohammedan festival". Again the 'Little Haj' which is the visitation of Mecca and Medina during the month of Rajab, the seventh month (not the official days of the 'great Haj' in Zulhijja, the twelfth month) is confused by Doughty with the visit of the seven pilgrims to 'Medina', as part of their pilgrimage. ("Arabia Deserta" II, Page 480).

On the growth of Islam itself Doughty is nearer the Middle Ages and the early Renaissance, in the authors of which periods, as we have shown, he had his earliest Islamic lessons. Just like his Medieval sources he says that "the beginning of Mawmetry was an Arabian faction..." ("Arabia Deserta" II, Page 415). 'Faction' is always the key-word. Here again mistakes of vocabulary lead to strange ideas. 'Jumaa' is the word for Friday, the day in the middle of which Moslems gather together to pray mass-like in the most communal prayer of the Moslem week. 'Jama'a' means a group gathered together, and in certain dialects it might mean the gathering of kindred people, the members of one tribe, or part of a tribe. Doughty's mind quickly links both, and says that in the Moslem 'Juma'a' (Friday Prayers) Mohammed has perpetuated "the canine lineaments of the Arabian faction" ("Arabia Deserta" I, Page 490). Although Doughty does not say specifically that Christianity was the 'One Religion', or that Mohammed himself was a heretic breaking away from the true faith, it is yet clear that at the back of the mind there

lurks this idea of a divisional movement started by Mohammed. He calls Islam 'Mohammed's religious faction' ("Arabia Deserta" I, Page 100), and again calls it "the new and soon grown faction of Mohammed in religion" ("Arabia Deserta" I, Page 247); "the beginning of the religious faction of Mohammed" ("Arabia Deserta" II, Page 129); "that bastard stamp of the (expedite, factious and liberal) Arabian Spirit" ("Arabia Deserta" I, Page 100). Islam is indeed only a man's religion, not sent by heaven, and because of that it "digested to an easy sober rule of human life, (a pleasant carnal congruity looking not above man's possibility)" ("Arabia Deserta" I, Page 100-101). If Islam is a man's 'religion' and does not look up to higher ideals, it is logical to say, and Doughty does not say it clearly, that Mohammed was an imposter. That was the attack of the Renaissance, at its worst in Prideaux, whose work was certainly known to Doughty.

But Doughty does not belittle Mohammed and his influence. One feels sometimes that only prejudice keeps him from doing the Prophet justice. "Are not Mohammed's sews today the mother belief of a tenth part of Mankind?" ("Arabia Deserta" I, Page 101). Again he refers to "Mohammed in the Koran, with the easy felicity of the Arabian understanding..." ("Arabia Deserta" I, Page 473), and to "the Arabs' religious goodness" ("Arabia Deserta", I, Page 132). And Doughty, the Unitarian (hence non-conformist and anti-clergy) must have been at least half-hearted when he wrote about Islam "In the towns are religious elders - not ministers of mysteries: there is no order of priesthood. Mohammed is man, an householder, the father of a family', and his is a virile

religion: also his people walk in a large way, which is full of the perfume of the flesh purified; the debate betwixt carnal nature and opinion of godliness is not grievous in their hearts." Doughty was alive to these good qualities in Islam, then, and in that he was different from the writers of the Renaissance. Sometimes one feels that he is nearer the later Eighteenth and Nineteenth Century Spirit of fairness shown, for example, in Sale and Carlyle, but soon prejudice prevails and he goes back to the vile language and wild words of the older vilifiers of Islam and the Moslems. Compare his famous description of the Arab "an a proud man, his head high in the clouds and his body on earth, sitting on a cloaca", with Sir Henry Blount's words in his book on the 'fair walks' of the Moslems, as "dainty fruits growing out of a dunghill". ['Voyages into the Levant', I, 340]. [See the quotation on P. 154.].

These two different sides of Doughty's reaction for or against Islam and the Moslems depend upon what he feels that they feel towards him. If he sees a smile on a face, that face is quickly praised. If the smile disappears, Doughty's praise disappears as quickly. The criterion is not an objective scientific method of judgement but a changeable mode of emotions in the heart of Khalīl himself. Examples of that are all over the pages of the "Arabia", but we will choose in particular the cases of those who were exceptionally kind to Doughty, and Doughty was in general all praise of them. In his sober mind he bore nothing but gratitude for them, so much so that Zemil and Ameyra lie at the back of his ideal human communities in "Mansoul" and "The Titans".

There was in the town Zamil, El-Kenneyny, Bessam and Yehya and no better four men existed anywhere together, as Doughty acknowledged later "....here is a free township under the natural Prince, who converses as a private man, and rules, like a great Sheykh of Aarab, amongst his brethren." ("Arabia Deserta", II, Page 341). "....There are ... no malcontent factions, they are all cheerfully subject to Zâmil. The people living in unity, are in no dread of foreign enemies". About El-Kenneyny he says, "a gentle son of Temîm, whose good star went before me from this day to the end of my voyage in Arabia." ("Arabia Deserta", II, Page 341).

Yet all this does not prevent him from using the vile language of abuse, to the extent that he himself (Is it the temporary prick of conscience?) asks for forgiveness "(forgive it me, O thrice good friends in the sacrament of the bread and salt,)" ("Arabia Deserta", II, Page 352). When El-Kenneyny invited him to his gardon, and Nesir, innocently perhaps, said he wanted to consult him about its irrigation, Doughty suspiciously thought, "Nesir's Wahaby malice would sow cockle in the clean corn of our friendship, and have made me see an interested kindness in the Kenneyny!" ("Arabia Deserta" II, Page 352). Yet he himself seems to doubt El-Kenneyny, when he says, he imagined "that I went poorly for a disguise". ("Arabia Deserta" II, Page 359). When Zamil sends him away, his estimation of the man seems to waver, "was I heretofore so much mistaken in the man?" ("Arabia Deserta" II, Page 407). It is again at Aneyza that he passes this judgement on the Arabs' short-lived friendship, "Their friendship is like the voice of a bird upon the spray:

If a rumour frighten her she will return no more," ("Arabia Deserta" II, Page 441). But that seems to be truer of Doughty's own judgement than of the Arabs' friendship. Ibrahim, he says, was his friend and he heaps praise on him, but as soon as discordance creeps between them, Ibrahim becomes the target of Doughty's bitter abuse. Passing general judgements comes easy to him, almost without thought, and always on the spur of the moment. In ("Arabia Deserta" II, Page 397) he says, "Arabs are always thus - almost without the notions of a generous nature". But on other occasions he speaks of "the frank alacrity of mind and the magnanimous dignity of Bedouins". ("Arabia Deserta" II, Page 70). Speaking of the "Arabian Hospitality" in another occasion, he says, "He will sacrifice a sheep, if but a (strange) child come there..." ("Arabia Deserta" II, Page 100). Even the Wahabies get some of the praise in a generous mood, when he says, "the civil gentleness of an Arabian upon the guest and the stranger". ("Arabia Deserta" II, Page 36). When Arabs were kind to him he would praise them; when others were unkind he would abuse them; and the judgements in both cases were uttered in all sincerity and earnestness to include all the Arabs good or bad. That indeed is the only criterion upon which Doughty's moral judgements are passed. It is about him more than about the Arabs, that his own words would justly apply. "The Arabs - the most unclean and devout of lips, of Mankind." [And Doughty's high moral protentions in "Arabia Deserta" are no less noticeable than his abusive words] - curse all under heaven which contradicts their humour." Let us give more examples of Doughty's curses of those who contradicted his 'humour'. Once ("Arabia

Deserte" II, Page 38) Heyzen is praised. On (Page 39) and after, he attacks him, because Heyzen had shown his fanaticism. On (Page 18) Hamud's father is called 'jebber' (a high-handed despot) and on (Page 23) he states the exact opposite about the same man, "Abeyd could be generous, where the Arabs are so least, with an adversary". But this follows directly a passage in which he tells of Abeyd slaying his enemies while they were in flight! ("Arabia Deserte" II, Page 23). Hamud himself, his friend and protector in Hayil, gets the same treatment. On (Page 18) he speaks about "the element nature of the strong man Hamūd", and tells how people call him 'Aziz' (beloved). On the same page he is said to be 'a high-handed Nimrod' in times of peril. Doughty who always cries for toleration, and attacks the Arabs for fanaticism, attacks Hamud when he is tolerant and accuses him of hypocrisy and for being 'politic' in religion'. Of Hamud's brothers, Feyd, one whom he only met 'one or two times in a month, passing in the public street', is called 'an umbratile young man', and the reason follows with no delay, 'and very fanatical' ("Arabia Deserte" II, Page 29). Hamud's younger brothers are said to be "sordid spirits and fitter to be bound prentices to some ratcatcher than to come into any prince's hall and audience." ("Arabia Deserte" II, Page 30). Ibn Reshīd himself gets the usual mixture of praise and abuse, and the change always comes about when Doughty feels maltreated.

The same contradiction not unnaturally extends to spheres other than the characters of those Arabs whom Doughty meets. On (Page 32), for example, he praises the rule of Ibn Rashid".... <u>I think it would be hard</u>

to find a fault in Ibn Reshīd's government." But directly after he records somebody else's attacks on it and later joins them himself, "... there is no peace among the Ishmaelites, nor assurance even in the Prince's capital!" ("Arabia Deserta" II, Page 33). On pages 5-6, for example, he describes Ḥāyil as "well set out", and "as her inhabitants, well arrayed". On page 6 he speaks of their lives, "under the mild and just government of their home-born sheykhs". His words about the goodness of life under Zamil in Aneyza have already been quoted. "In no place have I seen men live more happily than in this oasis". ("Arabia Deserta" II, Page 432). Yet in "Arabia Deserta" there are unparalleled expressions of the injustice in all the land, or as Doughty puts it in Hayil "in the tyrannical shadow of the place" ("Arabia Deserta" II, Page 2) and in Aneyza "Poor or rich patients at Aneyza, none of them paid anything for the Ḥakîm's service and medicines". ("Arabia Deserta" II, Page 386), which again contradicts the cases of payment numbered by Doughty himself in the book, and does not tally with the expressions of friendship and generous assistance given to him by many of the Aneyza dignitaries. It extends also to the national habits of the Arabs. What Arabs treasure most is perhaps their code of hospitality. Doughty pays tribute to that many times, sometimes in an unworthy half-hearted manner, as when he says, "he would not sit down with us, since, by their magnanimous fiction, the host is the servant of his guests". ("Arabia Deserta" II, Page 101). Yet he does not let a chance pass without harping on what he calls the "Semitic greediness" ("Arabia Deserta" II, Page 29), or again, "How the Semites are Davids .... too religious ... too scelerat at once!"

("Arabia Deserta" II, Page 39). While in fact he, Doughty, must have appeared the worse for greediness. They had their scanty meals and poor booths or makhzans to give, and in spite of the fanaticism and the evil spirits of some, he was always able to benefit freely from these. He in turn had nothing but a limited sum of money, and a limited knowledge of medicine. Yet he was always careful of the first, and never forward with the other. In a country where you go as a perpetual guest, you cannot turn about and ask for the price of your medicines in earnestness and insistence, from those whose hospitality you almost always abuse, and those hosts to whom you frankly show contempt. Add to this that these Arabs, mostly poor, had never had any silver to give, or money to afford, and that Doughty was on one side playing the guest benefitting from their hospitality, and on the other side trying to play the 'merchant' selling them medicine. What would have been the situation if he had behaved like the Christian he said he was and treated them the best he could without asking for 'money', but asking, or not asking, for kindness instead, is a matter of speculation.

Again contradictions are there in his generalizations about the Arabian mind. We have already quoted his words about the inability of the Semitic mind to think scientifically. So let us quote his own words to the opposite. He says, "There is in those Arabians such a facility of mind, that it seems they only lack the occasion, to speed in any way of learning". ("Arabia Deserta" II, Page 39). Once he says, "No man of the inhabitants of the wilderness knows letters", ("Arabia Deserta" II, Page 41) and directly contradicts that by telling us of

Rashīd, the Bedouin who had learnt letters in the Wahabi capital. But to Doughty the one reason for the Arabs' backwardness was their religion, and on attacking it, he does not mince his words. Yet compare that with his words on the sincerity of their religious beliefs, and the impurity of the European beliefs in religion, when Doughty says that the Arab's "talk is continually (without hypocrisy) of religion which is of genial devout remembrance to them" ("Arabia Deserta" II, Page 39) and his words on religion in Europe, "(Religion) is to us a sad, uncomfortable, untimely and foreign matter". ("Arabia Deserta" II, Page 39), and you will realize the confusion into which the careful reader is thrown by the changeable moods and the inconsistency of the author. In spite of all the praise one reads of "the Arabian franchise as equals" ("Arabia Deserta" II, Page 30), of Zamil's government at Aneyza, of Ibn Rashīd's in Hayil, a quick change of mood is enough to produce this".... in none of the merchants, more than in cattle, nor in the Prince himself, was any readiness of mind to bring in grain from a distance:" and we are supposed to forget, as the author has for the moment forgotten, the stories of shops full of merchandise from everywhere, as far away as India, and the 'rice' which he was then to boast as coming from British Domains. But worse is to come, for basing his cause on such fickle remarks, he proceeds, as the writers of the Renaissance used to do, to attack Islam, "the Moslem religion ever makes numbness and death in some part of the humen understanding". ("Arabia Deserta" II, Page 7) and he forgets that plagues were the curse of all humanity and all countries, whatever their religion was, and that thousands were the annual victims

of that in his own England, in his chosen golden age of Elizabeth. Still compare his words here with what he says on other occasions, like "such a general charity might hardly be procured by public laws in other countries!" ("Arabia Deserta" II, Page 114). And again "They have an old world's custom here, to labour for each other, without wages." ("Arabia Deserta" II, Page 112), where one remembers the Hakim refusing to treat patients before they pay.

Between these conflicting judgements and confusing utterances of Doughty, one thing is clear, and that is the moodiness of Khalīl, and the possible truthfulness of his words only as an expression of his own emotional reactions. The worst of his moods perhaps is the one in which he cursed the boy serving him in the Prince's guest-house at Hayīl, because the boy said 'Samm' (short for say Bismillah or 'In the Name of God') and he thought the boy had said, 'Simm' (poison) ("Arabia Deserta" . That ready suspicion is indeed at the heart of it all. For that lack of trust was common to both sides. From the beginning Doughty had an excessive amount of it. It showed in his going there armed as Sir Richard Burton puts it, not with the manly sword and dagger, but with a pen-knife, and a secret revolver. In words he shows it everywhere, ".... fair words in the Arabs are not to trust...." ("Arabia Deserta" II, Page 445), and about people we have his saying to Imbarak, "... But Imbarak, I no longer trust thee....." ("Arabia Deserta" II, Page 56). On the Arab side, for example, we have the story of Ghroceyb who said that Doughty was a good Rafîk (companion in travel), but that he wanted to steal his thelûl at the end

of the journey. ("Arabia Deserta" II, Page 73). On Doughty's side also we have his words, ".... so knavish they are in a trifle, and full of Asiatic suspicions". ("Arabia Deserta" II, Page 42). But Doughty's suspicion was the greater of the two because his need to depend on them was of course greater, and his notions about Islam were hostile even before he went into Arabia, and because he would not, foolish and false though these were, hide his feelings of superiority and prejudice. A generous treatment of him by all the Arabs might have lessened his hostility but not the generous treatment of many - of which there is no lack in the "Arabia". A correct behaviour by him might have lessened the Arabian resentment of his religious otherness, "But feeling as an European among these light-tongued Asiatics" ("Arabia Deserta" II, Page 12), as he puts it, could never do.

But whatever the emotions of Khalīl were, it is Doughty's objectivity and correct judgement that we question - almost in every sphere. (1) When somebody doubted the truthfulness of his passages on Zeyd and Hirfa, Doughty retorted vehemently that everything he wrote was truth and nothing but the whole truth, and I, for one, was ready to believe it. Even the contradictions of judgement could be explained, and excused, as arising always from the emotions of the moment in which they were written, or the incidents of the time being. Women, for example, are a favourite topic of travellers wherever they go, and women in Islam and in Arabia have always been the subject of interest and

(1) Except, of course, the artistic or aesthetic sphere. I am not questioning Doughty's art here, but his ethics.

hostile comment in the West. But Doughty insists that what he tells us is only what is actually there. Where he speaks of the lewdness of women he speaks the truth, and when he tells of the shyness and chastity of Arab women (e.g. "Arabia Deserta" II, Page 440-441) he also tells the truth. But I could not understand the reason for the change which Doughty seems to have made in his factual recording of a singularly important event - the story of Arab women coming to him and asking him to go to bed with them. In the published text of the "Arabia" ("Arabia Deserta" II, Page 374) it is one woman, but in the Notebooks, written inside Arabia, (1) and deposited now in the Fitzwilliam Museum Library, Doughty says they were two women. Which is the truth? Contradiction cannot go this far, and still be excused! Again there is the case of the changes made from the 'Notebooks' in the act of the writing of the book. Expansion and growth and perhaps transformations are to be expected. Additions of points not mentioned in the Notes are also to be expected. But what one does not expect is the complete change of what is supposed to be speeches of other people. One would expect a man who takes notes to find it difficult to produce the exact words of a speaker or speakers. How much more so, if the writer is engaged in reproducing the speeches, in a foreign language, several years after he had heard them? Improbable as it might seem, Doughty actually writes jottings of conversations in the Notebooks in English! and changes them into Arabic in the book itself, quite the opposite of the process one would expect. And the changes are generally from indirect speech

(1) The entry in the Notebooks on 28th April, 1878, "came in two women saying they would lie in my bosom".

in the Notebooks to direct speech in the book itself! The alterations show the great liberty Doughty has taken in the transformation. The speeches of the Muttowa and the Emir in Hayil, and the conversation between Khalīl and Imbarak at his expulsion are clear examples. The artistic excellence of the style in these conversations and speeches is beyond doubt, and it is indeed that artistic perfection which is paramount in his mind, and not the exactitude of reporting. To heighten the effect of his words Doughty uses all the juggler's art of rhetoric, including glazing, glossing, expanding, or contracting the speeches of his Arabs. That is neither objective nor just, but aesthetically it is for the better.

Nor could a man be just, if the scales of justice in his hands change according to his own personal mood, and the good that will come to him in each case. Usury, for example, is no virtuous profession to permit or condone. But Doughty attacks Usury when he says "... the people are greedily eaten up by other caterpillars, the Yahûd, and yet more - to the confusion of the name of Christ! by the iniquitous Nasāra....." "Arabia Deserta" II, Page 4). Yet he does not raise a finger or utter a word of disapproval at the usury practised by the house of Bessam. They are divided into the 'bad Bessams' and the 'good Bessams', because the first group are 'fanatic' or 'anti-Doughty' and the second group are friendly with him. Yet the head of the friendly group, the man whom Doughty calls "the prudent incorrupt citizen" ("Arabia Deserta" II, Page 351), is in fact the main money-lender and usurer of Aneyza (See "Arabia Deserta" II, Page 387).

'Usury' is forbidden in Islam, and in practising it the 'Bessam' was acting against his own religious convictions, but one does not expect Doughty to attack him for that. What one expected Doughty to attack him for was another point, worse in Doughty's own belief than usury - the slave-trade. Bessam was at the beginning a slave-trader, and his wealth, the benefits of which Doughty himself had tasted, was partly the result of his earlier trade in slaves. Now it is good to fulminate against slave-trade in Moslem countries as Doughty does; but it is evil when fulmination stops short because the crime was committed by a friend.

It is, of course, possible to say that the author of the "Arabia" does not pose as a pure angel or as a man of impeccable purity of nature, means and ends; and to say that readers, or at least some of them, have tried to build it up into a case of innocent Christianity persecuted by the terrible fanaticism of Islam. But KhalĪl's self-dramatization is indeed part of the appeal of the "Arabia", and the borrowed cloak of a would-be martyr could not be far from the thought of the man who wrote, "..... who are these that take me (because of Christ's sweet name!) for an enemy of mankind?" ("Arabia Deserta" II, Page 81), and " - But who was the Christian Martyr? That Child of Light, in comparison with their darkness...." ("Arabia Deserta" II, Page 158). Doughty has indeed written the "Arabia" with a clever eye on the Christian public who were meant to buy and read the book.

We must realize then the other side of KhalĪl, which had nothing

to do with Islam or Christianity, but with the sinful pride of self and race, and prejudice against his hosts. The other voice which could say, "They blench when we turn on them, knowing that the Frenjies exceed them in the radical heat and force of the spirit" ("Arabia Deserta" II, Page 377) could hardly be called Christian. Nor was he always constant in his pride, for he knew how to strike by the hand, when the opponent was not all-powerful ("Arabia Deserta" II, Page 445), how to hold his tongue and hand when the opponent had the upper hand, and how to pray and beg when the opponent was dangerously adamant. /See, for example, his words to Prince Ali "Ullah lead thy parents into Paradise!" ("Arabia Deserta" II, Page 404)./

Doughty should have shown interest, affection and feeling, which could perhaps have bridged the gap between his Christianity and their Islam, between his knowledge and their ignorance, and between his civilization and their backwardness. It is possible that literature might have lost some of the fire of the "Arabia" if he did, but religion and humanity and objective science would have gained a lot. And it is as literature that "Arabia Deserta" ranks in my opinion among the heights of English works in the Nineteenth Century. But its aesthetic values cannot always be equated with moral values or scientific facts. Beauty is not exactly the same thing as truth, and it is wrong, utterly wrong, to take the "Arabia Deserta" as an indictment of Islam or the Arabs. Doughty visited Arabia and wrote his book when Islam was in decline, and Arabia was in ignorance and anarchy. Yet the same points of weakness

could easily be found nearer at home in civilized Europe and the mighty empires of Christendom. Doughty himself was alive to some of these in the lands he had passed earlier through, as we have shown before. Nearer still in Britain itself, it was not all sweetness and light. How many were the people in Europe, who professed Christianity for no better reason than that it was the religion of their forefathers? How much ignorance of the true Christian faith existed in Europe, even in the height of Victorian England? And what would Doughty's sense of racial superiority be if he discovered the same greed and the same brutality and the same fanatic factions in the new industrial slums of the Midlands and the North of England in the Nineteenth Century?

One never expected Doughty to believe in Islam, or to play up the Arab race, particularly when they were in the nadir of their long history. But one expected prudence and kindness, and understanding, if not love. Instead you have naked abuse and sheer intolerance. Khalīl's behaviour might be explained by fear, but Doughty's written recording in the "Arabia" cannot be defended. Even literature might have gained a little more, by a little less pride and self-dramatization on the part of the author. If he were able to see his own egoism, his own prejudices and his own intolerance, he could perhaps have understood those in the hearts of his Arab hosts. As it is his book stands as a record of the weaknesses of some of his Arab vilifiers written by him, and as no less a record of his own weaknesses unconsciously unfolded by him. If his book, aesthetically speaking, stands higher, it stands very much lower as an objective study than the works of Burkhardt, Burton, and Lane.

Though Doughty's "Arabia Deserta" is, by the general consent of his critics, a masterpiece, the ways of looking at its excellences were not always the same. Some have idolized the man and his courage and endurence. Some have praised the exactness and the fullness of his reporting. Some have acclaimed his insight into the character of an ancient Semitic people, and his ability to draw them almost alive in his book. Some have explained the mysteries and complexities of an apparently simple and fragmentary, but in reality complex and complicated, structure and form. But the real fascination of the book lies no doubt in its varied style. Almost all who wrote on Doughty, be they reviewers in literary periodicals, or casual commentators in newspapers, or serious critics dealing with English literature at large, or scholars dealing with Doughty's work as a whole, have devoted most of their contributions to the praise of his prose style. To give even a short resume of all the literature on the style of "Arabia Deserta" would certainly swallow many pages of this thesis. Selection is the only way in dealing with this most important part of Doughty's contribution to English literature.

Few at the beginning noticed the book. As soon as the book was published in 1888, Wilfrid Scawen Blunt wrote that it was "the best prose work of the XIXth Century". The reviewer of the book in 'The Times' hailed it as "the most original narrative of travel published since the days of Elizabeth". The reviewer of the book in 'The Spectator' preferred it to the works of Burkhardt, Burton, Palgrave and Palmer. In 1888 again, that uncanny discoverer of new talent, the friend of Hopkins, Robert Bridges, wrote to Doughty, "We say of your book that it stands out

of the flatness of modern literature as Etna from Sicily .... that the style and English are sustained at the height at which you boldly imagined them ... a perfect accomplishment". And from that early start this note of adoration continued gradually to swell till today, but "Arabia Deserta" has gained not only worshippers but people who tried to explain and understand the beauties of its style. First among these comes Professor B. Fairley whose book, although rightly putting the emphasis on Doughty's poetry, gives "Arabia Deserta" a prominent part. Then follows Hogarth, whose main contribution, as Doughty's official biographer, was a comparative study of the notebooks, on which Doughty scribbled his thoughts inside Arabia. Then follows Anne Treneer, whose chapter V is a study of "Arabia Deserta"'s rhythms and style, and chapter VI a study of "Arabia Deserta"'s words. Although her contribution is generally sound, it seems to me fragmentary, choosing at will one or several points, like the conversational parts of "Arabia Deserta", for special consideration. Then comes the first scientific scholastic study of the style of "Arabia Deserta" by E. Taylor, whose knowledge of Arabic makes his fine study unduly exaggerate the Arabic influences on Doughty's style. Last comes a Ph.D. Thesis written by Annette McCormick, on the development of Doughty's style in "Arabia Deserta". She in turn has studied the words and phrases of "Arabia Deserta", depending mostly on, completing and readjusting, the work of E. Taylor, and at the same time, perhaps because she had no Arabic, she brought back into prominence the English, in contradistinction to the Arabic, influences on Doughty's style. This contribution of mine will show that although I appreciate the great work

of A. Treneer and W. Taylor, I generally side with A. McCormick, because her work is more inclusive, and her line of approach is sounder than theirs. "Previous critics", she says, "have been content to be baffled and have scribbled off such statements as 'the stateliest prose of our generation'". Forgetting, for a while, the work of W. Taylor, she says that those critics have generally stopped at adoration, and have not tried to understand or analyse the style. Some who have done so, have picked up one or two of the earlier writers as the main influences on Doughty. She dismisses that as wrong and ineffectual, and decides that the best approach is to trace it back to Doughty's years of study and apprenticeship. She goes back to the list of books at the end of Hogarth's work, of Doughty's readings at the Bodleian, and chooses the three travel books in the list as certain influences on Doughty.

Now, that process is the right process, and nobody can possibly hope to understand Doughty's style, who has not studied the studious readings of his earlier days. It is here that her approach is sounder than W. Taylor's, for Arabic influences are certainly incidental and not at all fundamental to the understanding of Doughty's style. Arabic is an important factor, but not the principal factor in the making of the stately style of "Arabia Deserta". A. McCormick is again certainly right in her attack on the fragmentary and accidental choice of sources for Doughty's style. Nothing can be more misleading and harmful than this occupation of certain critics to choose almost at random one work as the main influence on Doughty. "The work that he studied most

assiduously", says a critic, "was 'Hakluyt's Voyages'. Hence the antique style which has been a stumbling block to many." (1) Nothing is more misleading than that word 'hence' to anyone who studies Doughty fully. I, myself, thought for a while at the beginning of my reading of Doughty that 'Sandys' was the main influence. Martin Armstrong stresses Doughty's debt to Tyndal. Professor Oliver Elton stresses Doughty's debt to the Authorised Version of the Bible, while J. Middleton Murry says that for Doughty "the efflorescence of the language of Shakespeare and Milton might never have been; hardly even the English Bible". Doughty's debt to Chaucer and Spenser has been the topic of much speculation. Because in his works and in his letters he says that theirs was the golden age of the English language, and that he was trying to revive their language, that of 'the best times' as he calls it, some critics hastened to analyse what appeared to be Doughty's debt to Chaucer and Spenser. Yet some other critics were quick to notice that he was no imitator of either. S.P. Sherman, for example, notices the lack of sympathy between Doughty and Chaucer and Spenser. Martin Armstrong says that his debt to both is superficial. And then last comes the opinion that he goes even further back! "He is more akin", says I.H. McMurry, "to Beowulf than to Chaucer and Spenser."

Now individually each of these is wrong, but collectively

(1) Anon: "The Author of 'Arabia Deserta': Doughty as Man and Writer" The Living Age, CCCXVIII, 590. Mrs.R.Robbins says this is Cockerell's writing. He repeats it in other places.

they are all right, for Doughty has read all these and more, and all these early and Tudor and Stuart writers, travellers, dramatists, poets and divines have contributed something towards the making of Doughty's complex style. Annette McCormick was certainly right there. But yet unwittingly she herself does the same as those she has attacked and exposed. She goes, for the study of Doughty's earlier laboratory work, to Hogarth's list of Doughty's Oxford readings, and there she limits herself to the travellers, to Camden, Maundeville and Hakluyt, and later on adds Chaucer and the Bible. Her fault is that she depended on Hogarth's list only, for that list accounts actually for less than one fourth of Doughty's exhaustive readings. In an earlier chapter, and dispersed throughout this thesis, is an attempt to show the vast amount of Doughty's spadework in the field of language and literature. The main source is the great collection of word-notes that Doughty has left, and which are preserved at Caius College Library, Cambridge. Now any study of Doughty's style must start there in these word-notes, and this A. McCormick does not seem to have done. What she did was to study the Note-books of Doughty's Arabian journey written inside Arabia and preserved at the FitzWilliam Museum Library in Cambridge. These are certainly helpful in the understanding of much of 'Travels in Arabia Deserta', and they help us to analyse its style. But a full study and complete analysis of Doughty's prose or poetry must first of all begin with the word-notes. It is wrong to concentrate on the leaves and the branches, when the roots of the tree are submerged and unknown. The style of "Arabia Deserta" is

the fruition of a long process of preparation, and a concentrated effort of years of toil, and this poses another minor point which we should dispose of before we proceed.

For all have noticed the fact that Doughty came out after two years in Arabia in 1878, and the fact that 'Travels in Arabia Deserta' was published by the Cambridge University Press in 1888, and all have realized the tremendous effort that went into the making of that great masterpiece. What could be more natural then to imagine the continuous strenuous uphill climb of the author wrestling with his words and phrases for ten long years? Professor Fairley says they were ten. A. McCormick says they were eight, and all the commentators seem to be awed at the apparent concentrated work of ten years. Doughty himself, though he could probably be using a rhetorical licence to exaggerate, has called it 'the incessant labour of a decennium'. Nothing could be farther from the truth. According to Hogarth, he was in 1879 in Syria to collect the rest of the note-books in which various stages of the journey were recorded. Next comes the active attempt to publish his scientific findings in the scientific circles in London, Paris and Berlin. The year 1881 saw the report and the sketch-map published in 'Globus', the German periodical. In the opening months of

1883, his mind was occupied with a scientific report to be published and lectures to be given on the geography and geology of Arabia. The quarrel fully reported by Hogarth, between Doughty and H.W. Bates, Secretary of the Royal Geographical Society, concerned Doughty's lecture to the Society, and not 'Travels in Arabia Deserta'. On the 23rd of January, 1884, he submitted a paper to the Geological Society, on 'Outlines of the Geology of Arabia'. In all these years the literary records of the travels could not have taken most of his time or effort. He started it early but worked at it intermittently, except in some fixed periods. In 1879, for example, he wrote, "I am writing some accounts of those travels in Arabia as my little health permits." In 1879 again he writes to Sprenger, "I have for some time amused myself with writing some account of my wanderings with the Arabs". In 'Arabia Deserta' itself Doughty tells us that he wrote the part on his second visit to Teyma in 1879. (1) The years between 1880-1882 seem to have been spent in Italy in concentrated work on the book. In April 1882, he wrote to Sprenger that it will be ready before long, and late in the same year he started the search for a publisher. In 1884, even the second volume was shown to a publishing firm, which turned the book down, and in the same year, 1884, he wrote to Professor Wright who suggested Cambridge University Press as publishers. The quarrels on the revision of the book between Doughty and the publishers, related fully by Hogarth,

(1) 'Arabia Deserta' I, Page 532.

happened in 1886, and in 1886 Doughty got married, and took his bride to a honeymoon in Cornwall. How could it be ten long years of incessant toil then?

I am not denying that a tremendous effort went into the writing of 'Arabia Deserta', but I certainly consider it wrong to try to pin it down to the ten years previous to its publication. I maintain that more than ten years went into its making, for we must take into consideration the important early years of preparation, which helped to guide his later steps, and to determine his general attitude in life, in literature, and in style. The view-point of KhalĪl in the 'Arabia', and the style of Doughty's prose there are both fruits of that earlier effort. The first chance for Doughty to put into execution his early ideas of the dynamic possibilities of English, and his first and single-handed challenge of the corrupt and decadent Victorian English of his day, is the 'Arabia'. When he started on it, only he could tell how it was to develop, and when it was finished, only he could know its worth. All his vigour and all his strength went into the making of it - possibly more of himself even than what went into the making of 'The Dawn in Britain'. An Arabic proverb says that 'the first step taken is half the road you will follow', and the 'Arabia' was exactly that in the life-history of Doughty. It was the one tremendous feat which proved to the world that he was right and proved to Doughty himself that he was capable of writing a masterpiece. Not that we know he was ever in doubt about that, but doubt and hesitation are inevitable in cases like

these. When he started the 'Arabia' he had nothing but his belief in the potentialities of English, and his trust in his ability to revive something of the glories of the Elizabethan Age. When he started 'The Dawn in Britain' he had the sure knowledge that he could do it, and the clear proof in the completed 'Arabia'. Doughty, later in life, expressed the opinion that the 'Arabia' was inferior to 'The Dawn in Britain', to 'Wanderul', and to 'Adam Cast Forth'. (1) But these were the prejudices of a poet, forty years after the publication of the prose-book, and not the realities of the situation in which the struggling author found himself in the Eighteen Eighties.

Historically the 'Arabia' has its unquestioned place as the basis for Doughty's later work, and the first strong layer upon which the poems were built. That is why I would like first of all to dispose of the exaggerated considerations given by some critics to the Arabic influences on the style of the book before I proceed to the various aspects of his English style. If the works of Doughty were looked upon as one continuous development from his young days in Cambridge through the prose of the 'Arabia', to his lifetime ambition executed in 'The Dawn in Britain', and followed at a slow but regular pace by the later works, one would have had no need to stress this point in a work like this thesis. But the 'Arabia' happened to be a rare gem among literary works, so much so that

(1) See T.E. Lawrence's answer (letter No.135) to a letter from Doughty, on p.321, "The Letters of T.E. Lawrence: Edited by David Garnett. Cape: London, 1938.

more than half the critics who wrote about Doughty wrote mainly about the 'Arabia', and three quarters of the readers of Doughty's work read only the 'Arabia'. I, myself, because of my beginnings in Arabic studies, started on, as it were, en Arabic foot, but discovered later that this will not do, and that for the complexities of Doughty's style in the 'Arabia' one must search for the key in his 'English' studies and not in his 'Arabic' knowledge. Yet his 'Arabic' side must be dealt with, if the work on the 'Arabia' is to be complete. Two of the commentators on the 'Arabia' knew Arabic, and were thus able to pass judgment on the influences of Arabic on his style. Hogarth died before completing his biography on Doughty and it is possible that if he had seen it through the press, he might have been able to say a word. As it is I must exclude his name from consideration on the linguistic side. Although he displays an uncanny literary discrimination, yet his knowledge of the Arabs was more on the political and archaeological side than on the purely literary side.

The two commentators I have in mind were Sir Richard Burton, and Walt Taylor. The first wrote a very short comment on the 'Arabia' in "The Academy: 28 July, 1888", when the book was first published, and consequently the review is not coloured by the later adulation which came to Doughty's book in the twentieth century. Walt Taylor contributed Tract No. LI of the S.P.E. tracts, which he entitled "Doughty's English". Now it happens that these two stand on diametrically opposite sides. Burton, although he admits Doughty's linguistic contribution to the study

of Arabian geogrophy, archmology and the study of Arabian Dialects, shows also the limitations of Doughty's knowledge of Arabic and the inadequacy of his means. Walt Taylor does not doubt or question Doughty's Arabic knowledges. Looking at his 'English Style', he concludes that the style is based on 'Arabic'. "In this wilderness he found his ideal language", says Taylor. And speaking about his style, he calls it, "modern, Chaucerian, Elizabethan and Arabic; its Chaucerian and Elizabethan quality is no mere pastiche; it is Arabic;...." Now although it is true that Burton deals more with some of the arabic words in the 'Arabia' and Taylor deals with the style at large, the fundamental difference between their points of view is clear all the same. Where does the truth lie? We have already said within the general frame of Doughty's studies of English and the other (foreign) languages that Arabic was given a relatively short time and a relatively less energy than either English, Greek, Latin or for that matter, Hebrew. Moreover, we have his own words to prove that his knowledge of Arabic did not go deep into the sources or wide in the vast expanses or the literary riches of that vast and indeed difficult language. His period of study of Arabic in the Lebanon and Syria in 1876 must have been, as Hogarth makes clear exclusively, to study Arabic as a spoken language. But what could be studied in that very short period? His knowledge of Arabic before that course was negligible. Less than a year before, in Sinai, he was unable to exchange words with a bedouin, and had to use signs of the hands and gestures of the face,

like the dumb. (1) In a letter to Sprenger quoted by Hogarth, he wrote, "I could speak very little Arabic, ... not having before studied the history of those countries".

And when he had gone through the course in the Lebanon and Syria, what was the result? Was his Arabic perfect like that of Burkhardt or remarkable like that of Palmer? In 'Arabia Deserta' itself the answer is given. First we have his own admission and the comments of those who knew. Secondly we have the actual mistakes in the Arabic of the 'Arabia Deserta'. Of that first category we have Abu Rashīd's fine criticism of the European way of speaking in general, and on Doughty's Arabic speech in particular. "Noting my imperfect and unready speech", Doughty tells us that Abu Rashīd said, "These Franks labour in the Arabic utterance, for they have not a supple tongue; .... your words are born crippling and fall half-dead out of your mouths..." ('Arabia Deserta', I, 154). Another bedouin, hearing Doughty speak, thought he was a 'Messhedy' (II, 235), a Persian from Meshhed, because his speech was 'غُتن' (II, 236) and his hue like that of the Persians.(2) Still that is a criticism of Doughty's pronunciation, the way he utters the words, and not a criticism of the language itself. But even here Doughty's weaknesses were apparent. When an Arab tried to distinguish

(1) 'Arabia Deserta', I, 386 "...the old Beduin cameleer made signs with the hand (for yet I had not learned much Arabic)....."

(2) Here is one of Doughty's mistakes. Meshhed to him is 'Meshhed Ali' and 'Meshhed Ali' to him is where Ali, the Calif, the Prophet's cousin was buried after his martyrdom. The Calif Ali is buried at 'Najaf', in Iraq. 'Meshhed' is in Persia, and the tomb there is that of Ali-Al-Ridha, the Shiite Imam and a descendant of the Calif Ali.

between the various kinds of Arabic style, the high, the medium and the low, he refers to the language of Khelīl as an example of the third. There is again an all-inclusive confession by Doughty himself of his weaknesses in Arabic, vocabulary, style and speech, when he wrote to Sprenger, "I could never speak their difficult language without solecisms". There is also his confession to Sir Richard Burton that "he had never cultivated (Arabic) book-reading, but had learned the vernecular by hard practice". (See Burton's Review of the 'Arabia' in The Academy). In 'Arabia Deserta' itself there is his confession to the Italian Moslem in Hāyil, that he could never like 'the farrago of the Koran". (II, 51). Yet all this might have been taken as the natural shyness of a modest person, or of one who feels himself inferior to the tremendous task or measures his inability by comparing himself with those who know, if we had not known Doughty's apparent self-assurance and self-satisfaction. Compare it with his almost reckless self-assertion, in defending his English style, and his blunt refusal to change anything, and you will realize that Doughty was far from being shy or modest when he was sure of his knowledge. Other facts point the same way. In all the correspondence between himself and his Arab friends inside Arabia, it is strange that the language used was always English.

If Doughty's Arabic was indeed any good, it is possible that he might have used it here, writing to people who had no English. But he writes to "Sheykh Abdulleh El-Bessam", whom he calls 'My dear Uncle Abdulleh', sending him 'English Quinine' at his request and advising him

to introduce 'vaccination to the lands of the Arabs', and asking him in turn to send him 'a map of the Wady é Rummah with all the branch wadies which flow into it between Kheybar and el-Kassim'. And he writes another letter to Soleyman Abdullah El-Bessam in Jiddah answering his letter and expressing grief at the death of Abdullah El Kenneyny, and asking for the 'sketch map of the Wady-e-Rummé' and the poems of Abeyd Ibn Rashīd. The only Arabic in Doughty's letter was the English transliteration of 'Ullah yer'ham hu' - 'God's mercy on his soul'. More significant perhaps than all that, is the fact that Sleyman himself has gone to the English Consulate in Jeddah and had his letter written in English by Mr. Oswald, and the only thing which is in Arabic is Sleyman's Arabic seal at the end of it - a strong proof of the inadequacy of Doughty's Arabic. (1) In other letters one would come accidentally across an Arabic word inserted as it were a witticism, like the word عروس 'bride' in his letter written on 12 August, 1886, to Guy Le Strange, introducing his fiancée, "My dear عروس is daughter of General Sir Montague McMurdo, one of the heroes of Scinde: her mother or her mother's sister Mrs. Napier is I think a friend of your mother's". (2) But even these words sometimes betray him. We have already quoted the Arabic word misspelt in his Notes, the word قامف for قامت. The Arabia itself is full of these mistakes to which we will

(1) All the three letters are now at Caius College Library, Cambridge.

(2) The letter is at the FitzWilliam Museum Library, Cambridge.

soon come. But a point we should clarify before we do that is the apparent differences between Classical Arabic and its spoken dialects. For Arabic is a language of dialects, and among the Arabists and Orientalists of Europe in the Nineteenth Century there was a living interest in a problem which involved the historical beginnings of the Arabic language itself. A group of Orientalists maintained that Classical Arabic as we have it in the Koran and in the subsequent centuries after the advent of Islam was a comparatively new arrival. The Arabs or what would later be the Arab lands were divided between the Southern Himyaric or Sabaean state and language on one side and the Northern Nabatean on the other. These were two different strains, both in turn completely different from the Arabic of later times. In later times, so the group maintained, Islam was instrumental in spreading Arabic which was only the language of one tribe until it supplanted the Nabatean (Aramaic) of the North and the Himyaric (Sabean) of the South. The other group of Orientalists refuted the theory by proving <u>first</u> that the Aramaic inscriptions of the North were only the borrowed inscriptions of an essentially Arabian people expressing their Arabic language and displaying their Arabic names, and <u>secondly</u> that the body of Arabic poetry traditionally attributed to Pre-Islamic times was authentic and it proved beyond doubt that the Arabic language was indeed the language of all Arabia. They maintain that the Koran was written in Arabic because Arabic was the language of all the Arabs, and not as the other maintained that the Koran was the means of spreading the Arabic language.

Now Doughty's Archaeological discoveries at Medain Saleh were very much linked with that historical and linguistic controversy. For there at El-Hejr Doughty had come across what he considered the line dividing the North (Nabatean-Aramean) from the South (Sabean-Himyaritic). In terms of history this was the border between North and South. In terms of geography this was the dividing line between the summer rains of the South and the winter rains of the North. In terms of Archaeology this was the place where both civilizations meet: "el Khreyby is Hejra of Thrmûd, and .. Medáin Sálih, 10 miles to the North, is the Nabatean Hejra" says the Appendix ('Arabia Deserta', I, page 188). In the same appendix Mr. Barcley V. Head, of the British Museum explains that the money of ancient Arabia, besides the coins of those Arabs under the Roman rule, had the two great divisions of "the Yemen or the so called Himyaritic coins" and of "the Nabatean Kings". In terms of language the results were far reaching. In the note by M. Philippe Berger on (Page 187) it says "On se demande ou est, au milieu de tout cela, l'Arabe des Coréischites et de Mahomet? Il nous apparaît comme un dialecte excessivement restreint, comme la langue d'une tente petite tribu, qui, par suite de circonstances, tres locales, est arrivée a' un degré de perfection extraordinaire. C'est a l'islamisme qu'elle a dû toute sa fortune. L'islamisme de même a imposé sa langue avec sa religion a toute l'Arabie,....." Doughty himself writes in the Glossary (Page 552) that, "Koran Arabic was perhaps never the tongue of the upland tribes". But Doughty was not an Arabist, and he knew it. His

archæological findings were given to various Orientalists for study. His linguistic findings were given to Arabists for further study - and Doughty was, it seems to me, on the wrong side of the controversy, for against those who maintain that Arabic was the common language of Arabia centuries before Islam. So the attempt in 'Arabia Deserta' of looking at the language of Arabia and its sub-divisions in terms of Northern versus Southern, Upland and Lowland falls flat in the hands of an amateur linguist.

Compare with this half-theoretical controversy on a period, dead long ago, the blindness of the author in dealing knowingly with the actual divisions within the linguistic fold of the Arabic of his day. Thanks to the diligence of Doughty and his superhuman memory, we have an unsorted untapped wealth of Arabic words and phrases in the different dialects of different tribes, and in particular the tribes of Northern Nejd. It is in the recording of these that Doughty's contribution to linguistic studies of Arabic is invaluable - in the recording, not in the sifting or the understanding of the language and its dialects. When in the Glossary (P.556) he writes (Bach(k)ir, - tomorrow) about a word which was Bachir in the text (I, 476), he does not explain, because he does not know, that the 'K', influenced in the Eastern Coast of Arabia and in Iraq, by its pronunciation in Persian, becomes 'ch'. And the same in other words like 'J. chebád (Kebad)' (I, 304, 323) or 'ch(k)essab' (I, 194, 452) or in phrases like Cheyf-ent, (I, 433), and Cheyf Nesreny ? (II, 53). He did not know, for if he did, he would have certainly objected to their Persian-influenced tongue as much as he did to their

usage of the Persian word 'shittr' (II, 9) for the dromedary. Another influence on Arabic which Doughty does not seem to have known about was the influence of Turkish. Wherever he went Bedouins asked him for 'Tittun' which is the Turkish word for tobacco. The Arabic word is Dokhan. But those technical points are subjects of study for those who know, those who can with authority hear and understand and pass judgments. All Doughty could do was to hear and record, and one must admit, that with all the difficulties and all the faults, he has done it magnificently. That a man who has studied Arabic for such a short period, would go in these difficult circumstances and come back with all these riches is indeed a marvellous feat of perseverance and a magnificent memory.

Yet human weaknesses are there and without a solid background Doughty was particularly open to them. Thus one cannot always take his word for everything. Sometimes what he heard was not the right word. Sometimes his way of writing a word is not the right way, and in a good number of cases the opinions he bases on his linguistic gleanings are the wrong ones. Let us give a few examples, for a full analysis would mean another glossary of Doughty's Arabic words, and that here is not practicable. About the Arabic (k) which under Persian influences is sometimes pronounced (ch) like Harik which becomes Harich in East Nejd (II, 426) or the word 'weyladich' (I, 269) 'your sons) among Teimy women or Mehsan's beytich 'your house' or 'minch' 'from you', without knowing its Persian origin he shows its existence, and links it

in his misunderstanding with the change in English from 'speak' to 'speech' and from 'cool' to 'chill'! (See Glossary: Page 611.) Again the same Persian influence shows in an unexpected place. A Nejdy friend of mine tells me that this Persian twist of the 'K' into 'ch' has indeed invaded all the words except the old Arabic names of tribes. They might call the 'Kalb-Kelab' ('dog-dogs'), 'Chelb or Chelab', but never thename of the tribe of 'Beny Kelb or Beny Kelab' except in sarcasm or derision. But here we have it in the 'Arabia' (I, Page 285). Is it not possible that the Beduin speaker was using 'Beny Kelab' for the tribe, and then vilifying them as 'sons of dogs', and Doughty confused the two? Again the Persian word 'Khosh' (II, 398) is said to be 'a Persian Gulf word' (Glossary, P.616), which does not show if it is an Arabic word from the Western shores of the Gulf, or a Persian word from its Eastern shores. 'Aggere' (II, 230) is said to be the name of a mare, and 'Ajjr' is used about Mehsen (I, 200) and about Muhammed Ibn Rashīd (II, 18, 25) and explained as 'infecundus' (I, 200). How would the English reader know that they were exactly the same word, feminine first and masculine later, with the letter 'g' pronounced hard by some tribe and softened into 'J' by some other tribe?

Ignorance of the facts is again behind the words of the Glossary (P. 627) on (Medina (city. pl. medáin, and vulgar mudden (مدن)) for both plural forms are correct and classical and both are used in the Arabic speech of today. Again the same reason lies behind Doughty's comments on "Solomon the father of David". "Dahir could not gainsey me," says

Doughty, "when I alleged 'Solomon father of David', (this is as they ignorantly speak), a name venerable amongst them" (I, 154). But Dahir had no reason to gainsay him. Doughty was saying something which was correct, thinking it was wrong. Among the Arabs, perhaps as a natural expression of their love for their progeny, certain names carry with them other names suitable as children's names if that was the name of the father, even if he had no children. Mohammad in Iraq is father of Jassim even if he had no children. If your name is 'Soliman' you are familiarly called 'father of David' even if you have no sons at all. Ibrahim is everywhere father of KhalĪl. (1) This is no ignorance among the Arabs that 'Ibrahim' had no son called 'KhalĪl' or that 'Soliman' was not the father, but the son of David the King. It might not even have any link with these Old Testament names, but simply a familiar way of qualifying names. Doughty himself provides us with a little anecdote which shows the confusion which results from mistakes of hearing or understanding. At the Mothif in Hayil when a boy set in front of him a dish of rice and said 'Summ!' (Say Bismillah, 'In the name of the Lord'), Doughty thought the lad said 'Simm' (Poison) and abruptly called on God to curse the boy's parentage (I, 610).

(1) The same mistake is repeated by A. Treneer (P.107), when she writes "It was lucky that Doughty chose the name KhalĪl - Mohammed Aly, not liking that a Nasrany should take to himself a name which means 'the friend (of God)', called him Ibrahim nine times out of ten." She should have known that among Moslems Ibrahim (Abraham) is himself 'Khalil Ur Rahman' (friend of God), and that to call a person Ibrahim instead of KhalĪl does not mean degradation, and that many Christians in the East are called KhalĪl. That is why Doughty chose the name.

Another mistake, this time not in the text itself but in the Glossary, is the word 'Subbak', in Arabic rendered لسبك الله (Glossary, Page 669) and its reply rendered as لبسبعك أنت (I, Page 269 and II, Page 293). The correct word is Sabba سبّ and not Subba'a سبع and the reply is لبسبك أنت but it is probably only a misprint.

Another mistake in the Glossary, this time not by Doughty but by the Orientalist De Goeje is his interpretation of the name of Wedy Laymun (Glossary, Page 620) as a probable contraction of Wady-el-Aiman 'the right-hand valley', while the name really means the 'Lemon Valley'.

Another mistake which is repeated in both text and Glossary is the word 'Khalkat' (Glossary Pages 561 and 681), one among many words in a long prayer in Arabic (I, Page 561) is almost certainly Khalkak 'your creation'.

But these are all harmless mistakes which could easily be corrected if Doughty knew the necessary Arabic background to them.

What indeed is a problem is the transliteration of Arabic words into Roman script - a problem which is indeed more complicated by the nature of what Doughty was trying to do. If he had stuck to Classical Arabic there was a possibility of a standard pronunciation and a standard transliteration for every word. But Doughty was trying to put on paper the exact sound as he would hear from the mouths of the Arab speakers. The Arabs are a nation of individualists, even in the field of language. Every man would stamp the word with his own private way. Every tribe would have its way of speaking, and every corner of Arabia would have its own dialect. More than any other, Arabic is a language of dialects.

And the fact that the basis of word transformation and word derivation is the consonant and not the vowel, complicates the problem more. All might agree on the consonantal root of a word, but the vowels are easily changeable. To try to write every word as every person pronounces it is to make an endless number of slightly different versions of the same word. Read for example this line from 'Arabia Deserta' (I, Page 162), and you will realize the difficulty which confronted Doughty: "If this were K(gh)orḥ they would pronounce Gorḥ, or else Jorḥ; that which they say is plainly Korḥ."! If Doughty were an accomplished Arabist like Burkhardt before he began his journey or when he started to write down his story, or if he was a professional phonetician able to use the recognized international phonetic signs, (1) it would have been easier and simpler. As it is, he was only an amateur Arabist and amateur phonetician, and his solutions have the look of improvisations and are sometimes to say the least, questionable. As Burton rightly observes, no Arab ever said 'Kolle' which is indeed 'Kal'eh'. No Arab ever says 'Ullah Akhber' (I, Pages 98, 471, and II, Page 124, and the Glossary (Page 681)) for 'Allahu Akbar!

(1) The transliteration of the difficult letters of the Arabic Alfabet decided upon by the Royal Asiatic Society and accepted by all Arabists is: The hamza (ء) - ب (b) - ت (t) - ث (th) - ج (j) - ح (h) - خ (kh) - د (d) - ذ (dh) - ر (r) - ز (z) - س (s) - ش (sh) - ص (ṣ) - ض (ḍ) - ط (ṭ) - ظ (ẓ) - ع (') - غ (gh) - ف (f) - ق (q) - ك (k) - ل (l) - م (m) - ن (n) - ه (h) - و (o or W) - ى (y).
But in what follows we did not always stick to it, because it is easier to discuss Doughty's work on its own terms.

No Arab would pronounce the word "Arbūn" as 'Arrebun' (II, Page 299). No Arab would say 'Miriam' for 'Mariam' the mother of Jesus (I, Pages 467, 424; II, Page 369). No Arab would say Tom'a' (I, Page 540; II, Page 168) for 'Tame'. No Arab would say 'bes' (II, Page 121) for 'bess'. An Arab may say 'Ya Muhafuth!' but never 'Ya el- Muhafuth' (II, Page 539) for the definite article 'el' is always dropped in the vocative case. An Arab would say 'Tamimy' (of Tamim) but never 'Beny Tamimy' (II, Page 377). An Arab might say 'Akaba es Shemeya' (I, Pages 89 and 90) but not 'A. el-Misry' (I, Pages 84 and 474). Because the first word (the noun) is feminine, the second word (the adjective) must follow as feminine 'el-Misriya' and not 'el Misry' which is masculine. Nor does 'el Birket fi Rukkaba' (II, Page 565) seem correct, for the 't' at the end of 'Birket' would certainly be changed into a 'h'.

Perhaps Doughty's confusion in transliterating the words shows at its worst in conveying the various consonants which have no equivalents in English. The (t) exists in Arabic as it does in English, but Arabic has besides a fuller (t), usually rendered 'ṭ', which, says Doughty, "sounds nearly as the Irish pronounce 't', with some thickness and explosion of the breath" (Glossary, Page 671). Doughty admits his difficulty in hearing the two sounds always in distinction, and chooses 't', 'ṭ', the right transliteration for them respectively. Yet on the same page of the Glossary, as well as in the text, sometimes the dot below is left out, when it should not be, and that leads to confusion. As examples look at 'Taifat' (I, Page 229) which should be 'Ṭeifat', and

the worse case of 'Telal Ibn Rashīd' (II, Peges 13, 16) which should be 'Telal'. ذ A more confusing case is that of the English 'Th'. Each one of its two English pronunciations is a different letter in Arabic: ذ for the sound in 'that', and ث for the sound in 'thief'. Doughty as usual was quick to record the likeness of Arabic here to the Old English ð and þ respectively (Glossary, Page 674). But there is more in Arabic than that. Doughty puts it hesitantly thus, "there are three (or four, if we reckon ظ)" (Glossary, Page 674). The letter which Doughty regards as the third is the ض , an emplified kind of 'd', and which has no equivalent in English. Neither has the ظ which is again an emplified ذ or ð . And to make things impossible to deal with by an amateur, some dialects confuse the ذ and the ز (the latter equivalent to the English 'z'). Other dialects confuse the ظ and the ض , and Doughty himself expresses his inability to distinguish at all times between them in the various words he had heard. Consequently he tries to simplify matters, making it easier for himself and for other amateurs, but making it unpalatable sometimes to those who know. 'Thá el-melouk (I, Page 391) for example, is really Dá' el-mulūk'. 'Thabit' is really 'þabit'. 'Thahab el-asfr', gold (I, Page 340) is really 'ðahab el-assfar'. The 'th' in 'Thahir' is ظ , and the 'th' in 'Themin' (I, Page 515) is ض ! There you have 'th' expressing three different letters, and 'th' expressing two more different letters. The Arabists use 'd' and 'th' and 'dh' and 'ẓ' and 'ḍ' respectively (See Page 16(b)). A minor confusion shows, for example, in the word

'Zabtiyah' (II, Pages 48, 97) which Doughty begins with a straight 'z' while it is actually a ظ (ẓ) (The 't' in the middle of the word should also be a ط (ṭ) and not a straight 't'.) Again in the word 'Zubbian' (I, Page 166) the first letter is a straight 'z' similar to the beginning letter in the last word, but in reality it is the letter ذ again or ض. Again the same confusion arises in the case of the letters س and ص. The first is a straight 's' sound while the second is the amplification of it, and is usually rendered 'ṣ'. Doughty knows that and transliterates the words correctly in general; but sometimes the dot is left out. As an example you have the name of 'Sabry Pasha, Governor of Medina' (II, Page 200) which should be 'Ṣabry', and the 'Beny Sokhr' (II, Pages 24, 241). Again confusion arises over the Arabic equivalents of the English letter 'g'. It is always difficult to start from English to explain Arabic consonants, because the Arabic consonants are more in number, and more varied in pronunciation. Equivalent to the English 'g' on one side is the Arabic letter ج which in classical Arabic and in most dialects of today would be a soft 'j', and in a minority of dialects (Cairo for example) would be a hard 'g'. In those dialects where the 'g' is soft, another letter serves for the hard 'g'. That letter is usually the ق (q), which again in some dialects (The Yemen for example, or Mosul in North Iraq) and in classical Arabic has its own peculiar sound, which Doughty tries to write as (Ḳ). Still some dialects would change the ق (q) or (Ḳ in Doughty) into a hard 'g'

(like the Sudanese) or into an 'a' sound (like the Egyptian) or into a soft 'j' (like some tribes of Nejd) - thus completing the circle in an ever-increasing round of confusion to those who do not know. Let me give examples from 'Arabia Deserta'. The Fejir are a tribe whose name is sometimes given with a soft 'j', sometimes with a hard 'g', and again sometimes with the hard ق (q or as in Doughty ḳ). The plural of the same name is always 'Fukara' sometimes pronounced with a hard 'g', sometimes with the classical ق (ḳ or q) but never with a soft 'j'. Another difficulty arises over the خ (kh) which would be difficult for an Englishman but not for a German or a Scotsman because it exactly corresponds to the last guttural sound in the Scots word 'loch'. Doughty knew that of course; hence the words 'Sheykh' and 'Kheyr' and 'Khabar' and 'Kheybar' are correctly written. But when he uses the same signs 'kh' in the words 'Ullah Akhbar' where only the simple letter (k) is meant, he confuses himself and us.

But possibly more difficult than anything Doughty has tried to convey are the three Arabic consonants ح and ع and غ. The first is indeed the most difficult letter for a European to pronounce and Doughty is alive to the difficulty (see his explanations of the letter in the Glossary, Pages 537, 583). Because it is an amplification of the letter 'h' it is rendered thus in Roman script 'ḥ'. Doughty uses that sometimes. If he had used it constantly, the difficulty would have been limited to the sphere of pronunciation, and we would have been spared a lot of unnecessary confusion. The words 'Yuḥady' (II, P. 102.), 'Ḥajj' (I, P. 400.)

and 'Hubt' (II,60) are clearly, for example words with a straight 'h' sound. But 'Haduj' (II,9) and 'Haj' (I,44) and 'el-Habash' are not, and each should have had a dot beneath the 'h'. Again the correct device is forgotten and the same sound is rendered in other ways. The word 'Rih' (II,424) is given one 'h', but the words e-Rihh (I,256) and 'Saiehh' (I,273) and Suwwehh are given two 'h's for the same letter. The second difficult letter is the ع , difficult in pronunciation and in transliteration, for the nearest Roman letter to it is the tame, inexpressive and changeable 'a', a vowel, while the Arabic letter is indeed a consonant. Doughty knew the normal way of transliterating it by putting an inverted comma above an initial 'a', like 'Anuz (II, Page 64), 'Akaba (I, Pages 44, 79) and 'Adu (II, Pages 80, 414). Yet he sometimes uses other different methods. 'Atsha', (I, Page 278) has no comma before the first 'a' where it should be. Sany (II, Page 6) ends with a simple 'y' when it should have an inverted comma after it to tell that it ends with an ع . To measure the confusion this leads to, compare the same word with 'Ya Semy' (II, Page 74) which has no ع, and which should have been written 'Semiyyi'. The third difficult letter is the غ which is in pronunciation like the Parisian 'r' and is usually written 'gh'. Doughty depending on his ear (and what human ear could be perfect?) decided that the Beduin gullet trails with it a certain 'r' sound at the end (See Glossary, Page 534). So instead of 'ghazw' he writes 'Ghrazzu'. For Ghaza (Gaza) he has 'Ghrazza'. He writes 'Ghratta' and 'Chroayb'. But the dilemma in

which he put himself shows when he is confronted with a word where an actual 'r' follows the letter 'gh'. Would he as Burton remarks, write it as 'ghrr'? He does not. As an example you have Moghreby (II, Pages 153, 154), where Doughty is forced to neglect his eccentric way of transliterating the ع into the usual more conventional method of 'gh'.

But with all this confusion and these unassorted sounds of words we must thank the stars for the amateurishness of Doughty's methods. If he were an Arabist, he might have not been able to resist the temptation of linking every word he heard with the knowledge he had, twisting the words in the process and contributing something which was not there. The glossary goes a long way to correct the crude ways and the mistakes of the text, but in doing that, we seem to lose the immediacy and the sense of freshness and truthfulness which are in the book itself. Doughty for example has written 'Feyd', booty (I, Page 452) and the Glossary puts in front of the word a query suggesting فائد ( ) which will not do (Glossary Page 580). The truth of it is more probably فيض which may mean 'bounty, excess of good'. In the text Doughty, for example, has the line "Fattish b'il Kitab: fecher (I,464) The Glossary (Page 578) explains the first part as 'Search and make divination by the book, and between brackets explains the last word 'fechor' as 'perhaps fassir فسر or interpret' but it is more probably 'Feckir' and the 'k' was transformed - the Persian influences we have referred to - into 'ch'. Doughty's cardinal merit is that he has attempted, and generally speaking succeeded, in setting on paper a wealth of material from the dialect of North Nejd. This has not had its due recognition among the Arabists and linguistics while it is no less important,

perhaps more important, than his contribution to knowledge of the archæological, geographical and social life of 'Arabia Deserta'. But that factor is accidental to what we are trying to discuss - mainly the brittle basis of his knowledge of the Arabic language.

As soon as he steps outside the strict limitations of recording, Doughty is frequently in danger of falling into silly mistakes, always depending upon something true to what he has learnt elsewhere before, but singularly irrelevant here. Notice for example the moral conservatism of Victorian England, and the moral indignation of a priest's son about the word 'Khera' (II, Page 18) which he says have come from the immoral dens of Hijaz and Medina. Notice again the knowledge of Greek and Christianity and not Arabic in his explanation of the words Negus, Nemus and Naus (I, Page 411). How the three words could be heaped together as synonyms or perhaps as corrupted versions of one word is indeed inexplicable and incomprehensible to me. He quotes 'Bustany's' Lexicon as saying that the Syrians pronounce 'Negus' as 'Na'us' which is true as far as it goes, but whatbas that got to do with the completely different word 'Nemus', and the third word 'Naus' again different from both? On (I, Page 411) he quotes Sir Henry C. Rawlinson for 'Nemus' as saying that 'the m and the r were undistinguishable, the true form should be 'navus', which was a word known wherever Arabic was known'. Now I think I know some Arabic but I am sure the word 'Navus' never was used in Arabic speaking lands. For one thing Arabic has no 'v'! That is a Persian or Hindustani letter, not an Arabic letter at all. Whoever revised the Glossary was indeed right in calling it an erroneous conjecture.

Of Doughty's own personal piety and not from Arabic comes the interpretation he gives to the word 'Suwwah' or 'Saiehh' which in general simply means a 'tourist', but he adds 'Saiehh in the Mohammedan countries is God's wanderer, who not looking back to his worldly interest, betakes himself to the contemplative life's pilgrimage'. (I, Page 273). Again notice the wrong ideas he puts forward when he comments upon a most common Arabic word, the word 'Asnam' (idols), "I think this book-word is not in the traditions of the Northern Arabs." (II, Page 37). Another mistake, slight though it is, is the translation he puts forward, and Fairley copies, for 'Henna el-Beduw' (I, Page 296) - "We are the Beduw". 'We' in Arabic would be 'Ehna' and not 'henna' which means 'here' - "Here are the Beduw". It could be a misprint, of course, but then Doughty repeats it in 'Henna el-Umera', 'Here are the Emirs' and puts it as 'We are the princes'. That does not make a great difference to the meaning indeed, but other mistakes follow. There is for example the assumption implied in "the Kamus, or Ocean Lexicon of the endless Arabic tongue," (I, Page 411), which in the Glossary becomes "el-Kamus', or 'Ocean' Lexicon of the Arabic tongue," (Page 612). One might think that the 'Kamus' means 'Ocean', while the fact is that one of the most important dictionary[23] of Arabic is called "Al-Qamus Al-Muheet", the 'all-inclusive dictionary'. The Ocean was thought to enclose the whole Earth, and was consequently called, and is still known in Arabic as 'Al-Muheet', the same word that comes in the title of that dictionary but means there the 'all-inclusive'. Another similar

misunderstanding is in Doughty's translation of Hamudh words of astonishment when he found poetry in Doughty's book, "How is this? - are the Nasara then ahl athab, polite nations?" (1) (I, Page 605). 'Adab' in Arabic indeed means 'politeness' but it also means 'literature'. Hamud seeing poetry and speaking about literature, means 'literature', but Doughty misunderstood his words and he thought Hamud was surprised at the Nasara being 'polite nations'!

But there are other mistakes of a grave nature, mistakes he would have never allowed to remain if he knew. Serious is his misunderstanding of the line "Wa hu fi batnek" (II, Page 16), which he translates correctly, "And he is in thy belly", and then bungles the whole thing by explaining it with, "thou hast devoured him, dignity, life and all", which has no meaning at all! 'He' in the line simply refers to the dagger and should have been translated 'it'. Stabbing him with a dagger the speaker says to his victim, "And here it is (take it) in thy belly". Some times Doughty, like Caxton in his translations from French or Latin, would use more than one word or one sentence, setting them one after the other, as if hesitant which to choose. Take for example the word 'Wakhem' (I, Page 143), which he translates into 'filth, foul air' (Glossary, Page 93). The exact meaning of the word is "unhealthiness, either in place or food or air and the stupor it leaves". The words 'foul air' might just qualify, but not 'filth'. Again he

(1) It is possible, but in my opinion improbable, that Doughty was using the double meaning of the word 'polite' in the Eighteenth Century manner.

translates the line 'Keyf Usbeht?' (II, Page 93) into 'how have you passed the morning? - you have risen well?' In the first part, the morning is past, and in the second part the morning is still ahead. Actually the second sentence is the more correct translation. But perhaps the worst mistake in the whole of the 'Arabia Deserta' is the translation Doughty gives for the most famous phrase most widely used among the Moslems, and widely known among the Arabists, professionals or amateurs, the phrase which stands at the head of each Sūra of the Koran and is uttered at all occasions by devout or non-devout Moslems - "Bismillahi ARRahman ARRahim" - "In the name of God the Merciful and the Compassionate". In 'Arabia Deserta' Doughty translates this twice. Once (I, Page 471) he puts it this way, "Ullah er-Rehman er-Rehim", "the mild-hearted God, yearning with mercy and pity", which in spite of the rhetorical additions is a fairly adequate translation. Again in ('Arabia Deserta', II, Page 10), Doughty tells about, "the fatiha, commonly said in the beginning of their devotion ... the sense of the text is this, 'In the name of the God of the Bowels of Mercies. The praise be unto God, Lord of all worlds (creatures), the God of the Bowels and the Mercies', ...". The translation is fair except for the absurd 'God of the Bowels $\overset{\text{of}}{\text{and}}$ Mercies', which is inexcuseble but not inexplicable. The explanation of the origin of his misunderstanding is given in the Glossary (Page 648) where Doughty links the word 'Raḥmat = Mercy' with 'Raḥm = Womb' and adds the unnecessary superfluity of "the movement of the bowels and instinction to loving-kindness" as if he felt the need to

reassure the reader and himself of the meaning, which indeed has nothing to do with God's compassion and mercy. Another grave mistake is in his usage of the word 'Muzayyin' (I, Pages 340, 341, 391 and II, Page 257) which is taken always to mean the circumcision-festival, while in fact the word is a present participle, or substantive, which refers to the man himself, 'the beautifier, the decorator, the hair-dresser', indeed the man who performs the circumcision. To these let us add examples, not frequent though they are, where Doughty steps outside the simple usage of words or the translations of sentences, into giving us longer lines of Arabic talk, where his grasp of Arabic grammar is shown to be brittle. The words are right but the combination is not Arabic in 'Ya ent Rakabin' (I, Page 467) for 'ent' (thou) is singular and does not conform with 'rakabin' (who are riding) which is plural or in 'el-Birket fi Rukkaba' (II, Page 531) which lacks the relative pronoun (which is) before fi or in 'Sully Ullah aleyhu wa yusellim' (II, Page 241) where the first verb 'Sully' is in the past simple tense while the last verb 'yusellim' is in the present simple tense. The first should be changed into the present 'yusally' or more probably the second verb was in the past 'sellim', but both cannot be joined together the way they are.

These examples show that in spite of his meticulous care Doughty, because of his insufficient knowledge of Arabic, was not able always to be correct. Although he was fascinated by the sound of Arabic and the freshness and liveliness of the talk of the Arabs, the difficulties of the language were too much for him. He himself refers

in the 'Arabia' to "the largely exercised utterance of the many difficult articulations of their language", and says that "the human voice, hess (which should have been written hess), is here mostly clear and well-sounding". (I, Page 265). Thus the first basis on which the case for a strong Arabic influence on Doughty's style must be based on, the assumption that his knowledge of the language was near perfect, does not seem to be there. Doughty knew enough Arabic to live among the Arabs and keep contact with them and learn about their life, and record their talk, but not enough to be influenced to the extent which is claimed by W. Taylor. Compare that with Doughty's deep knowledge of English, Greek or Latin.

Another noticeable defect is Doughty's aversion to classical literary Arabic, which one must bear in mind when one reads Taylor's comments on the importance in Arabic of the pedigrees of words. What Taylor says there is true of classical Arabic which Doughty did not know well and never liked. The pages of the 'Arabia Deserta' show that he has read the'Muallakat', the famous golden poems of Pre-Islamic Arabia, which he says were read to him by a scholar in Hayil, (II, Page 36) and he even mentions a stave (23) of Lebeid's Moallakah (II, Page 471), and refers to the mention in these poems, 'elect poems of ancient Arabia' of the round tents which exist no more (I, Page 284). But all we know is that he heard and possibly read them in Arabia. It is probable that he might have studied them in the Eighteenth Century English translation by Sir William Jones. What makes that more probable is that the one poem

referred to in the 'Arabia' (the one by Lebeid) is in fact the most difficult of all the Muallakat. If Doughty were able to read it and understand it in the original there was nothing to prevent him from reading and understanding and consequently appreciating all the written literature of the Arabs. As things are the only books of Arabic literature read by Doughty seem to be books already translated in English, like the Koran, the Muallakat and some of the ancient history and geography books. Written Arabic seems to have had hardly any influence on his writings. In his notes in different places he writes in Arabic the titles of three different Arabic authors. One is 'The Cosmography' of Muhammed Ibn Abi Talib (Shems Al-Dīn) Al Dimashkī. The second is the book on India, called the 'Athar-ul-Bakiya' of Muhammed Ibn Ahmad (Abū Al Raihān) Al Bīrūnī. The third was the description of countries - and particularly of Syria, including Palestine - of Muhammed Ibn Ahmad, Al-Mukeddessī. (1) Conveniently and significantly, all were tackled by the Orientalists in the Nineteenth Century. The second, for example, was translated and edited with notes by Doughty's friend and helper with the Arabian Glossary, Dr. C.E. Sachau, and published in English, in 1879. The third book was edited (in Latin) by Doughty's other friend De Goeje and published in 1877, and then later again was translated into English by one of Doughty's personal friends - Guy Le Strange, and published in 1886. That seems to be the sum and all of Doughty's readings in Arabic books. How mergre, compared on one side

(1) This is the most probable source of Doughty's references to the ancient geographers' books in 'Arabia Deserta'.

with the tremendous works of the Arabs in all fields of language, literature and culture, and on the other side with Doughty's own extensive readings in English and other European languages.

What seems to me to have tempted W. Taylor and others like Abercrombie (See Taylor's testimony: footnote Page 40) to convince themselves of the paramount influence of the Arabic language on Doughty's style, are in fact the non-linguistic, non-literary sides in the world of 'Arabia Deserta'. The lexical and linguistic sides are submerged by the broad psychological and socio-cultural setting which dazzles the eye of the reader and critic and lures him into wrong inflated evaluations of the Influence of Arabic. But it is important to record the simple fact that language contact cannot be so effective when cultural contact is so defective.

The whole picture will be put in its right perspective when we find answers to these simple questions: Was the English language, apart from and without the impact of Doughty's linguistic experiences in Arabic, capable or incapable of providing the style and the form which we find in Doughty's work? And then, the second question would be: Was Doughty's world of ideas, theories, sentiments and moods, a product of his English and European outlook, or was it fundamentally transformed by his experiences of the Arab world? In the excellent essay of Walt Taylor itself, the words borrowed from Arabic are indeed shown to be few in number compared to the words from obsolete or literary or dialectal English sources.

The point I really want to stress is that the Arabic words in

the 'Arabia' are mere 'borrowings' like the borrowings from German in 'The Cliffs'. All are brought in to serve his English ends. The first time he uses a purely Arabic word, he always writes it in italics, as if to say it is an alien word, and then adds an explanation or an English translation of the word. After that the word is woven into his English texture, and becomes henceforth an integral part of it. Hejd-like (I, Page 294), and Hejd-wise (I, Page 528), Billi-wise (I, Page 414), fellah-like (II, Page 419), Haj-way (I, Page 507), Haj-road (II, Page 519) and Haj-cutter (II, Page 412) could not by any stretch of imagination be considered Arabic compound words. Adding English affixes he tries to naturalize Arabic words - like 'be-jinned' (I, Page 259), 'Akhuship' (I, Page 360), and ghrazzing (I, Page 319) - just as Ascham and Tyndale tried to English foreign words in their time. Some Arabic-English compounds were in Doughty's usual manner of contraction of a long adjectival phrase, like Kella-Keeper (I, Page 319), instead of 'Keeper of the Kella', 'birket-water'(I, Page 176) instead of 'Water of the Birket', or 'thob-catcher' (I, Page 326) instead of 'catcher of the thob' or 'Seyl-bed'(I, Page 379), 'seyl-strand' (I, Page 26) and 'Seyl-water' (II, Page 392). All these are as English in their way as the other compounds brought into the English fold at earlier ages. His freedom in dealing with these words was the same cherished freedom which he had in dealing with native English words. Arabic serves as Latin and French had served in the past to invigorate and quicken the pace and bring new blood into the English language. Nor was the natural

feeling for the ancestry of words in Arabic speech a point of departure for the archaism in Doughty's English. As Fairley says, Doughty had his archaisms ready and the talk of the Arabs released them and gave him an opportunity to bring them into play. From Arabic his mind quickly jumps to the gems of Old and Middle English stored in his memory from the days of concentrated study in Cambridge and Oxford. Zeyd's 'Bahr eth-Thellam', as Fairley says, recalls instinctively King Alfred's 'Ireland is dim, where the sun goes on settle' ('Arabia Deserta', I, Page 462) - and that should convince the hesitant of the almost identical influences of Anglo-Saxon first, and Arabic later, on the style of the 'Arabia'. When Muhammed Ibn Reshīd asks him, "hast thou tiryek?" he remembers the early English authors" (thus our fathers said 'treacle' θηειαν, the antidote of therine poisons) (II, Page 13). The word 'therine' in that last line has again its old Greek and Latin origins, as Taylor has remarked (Page 15). Again the petty wealth of a coffee-host recalls to his mind the old word 'richerd' (I, Page 246) (See Trenear (Page 167) and Taylor (Page 15)). Al-Ajam (or Persia) recalls to his mind the word 'Welsh' in its original meaning in Anglo-Saxon (See Taylor: Page 15). On the lines of a German word he has invented the word 'foot-goer' (See Taylor: Page 17).

Doughty is careful to assert the complete freedom of the writer in his search for the right word or phrase to express his meaning. The freedom to invent new words, to forge new combinations and new compound words or to extend the meanings of existing words is in his opinion a fundamental birth-right of the man of letters. A good example

of his freedom is the way he treats the Arabic word 'Ademy'. Because its origin is the name 'Adam', common to all languages, and because it ends in a 'y', which is a familiar English adjective-ending, he treats it as a perfect English word, and proceeds to make the English plural 'Ademies' out of it. This last word is not Arabic, for Arabic has no 'ies', and it is new to English, because English had no 'Ademy' - still it <u>looks</u> like a genuine English word. Thus the authors of the Sixteenth Century did, and thus he is going to do. Somehow the whole wealth of the languages they knew were precious mines for their own use. They and their language had a natural ability to absorb, to transform and to assimilate what they found, and Doughty, in the Nineteenth Century Victorian world, reserved for himself the same rights, and extended his field to include new sources, and to conquer new worlds, and to use all the sources of the past and the present for the rejuvenation of the English language.

Treneer studied Doughty's words appreciatingly. Taylor followed critically and McCormick completed the lists of words in the 'Arabia'. What was done and done well needs no repetition, and any complete study of Doughty's words and their sources needs a larger volume than I can afford. What I have done was to complete the work on the side least studied - 'Arabic'. In the rest I depend on and generally accept the results of those capable writers. The one word of caution, and any reader of these studies of Doughty's works needs it, is to criticise, as we have already said, the excess in referring words to certain individual authors. We have tried in Chapter II to show

that Doughty was studying the development of the language itself, more than studying individual authors or individual books. Words, except in very few particular cases, were not the exclusive property of this or that book or author, but the common inheritance of all. When Doughty uses them, he uses them because of certain qualities in them summarised felicitously by A. Treneer in two simple words: 'Opulence and exactitude' (Page 137). He was always searching for the exact words to represent his own experiences of the sights and sounds and smells of the world. And to get the right words, with the right shade and tone and feeling, he spent long years of study and reading. He studies words to express the varied experiences in the living world of trade, of travel, of science and art. He studied carefully the words for the organs of the body, the words used in archery and angling, and words used in geology, geography, architecture, words of farming, herding and gardening, and even words of alchemy and venery. And because it was his belief that the language of man was <u>the</u> expression of his inner self, the purity of man's moral being and his life became equated with the purity and correctness of his language. Language in general and words in particular thus acquired a moral quality which was as fundamental as their linguistic or stylistic qualities. To Doughty language was life itself. Corruption in language meant corruption in public and private life. His zeal to rejuvenate English was part of his zeal to reform the moral, and physical and the political life of the England of his day, and his return to the vigorous active stages of English was part of the crusade to bring back vigour

and action to the England of the Nineteenth Century. Thus the words in Doughty, fresh, alive and full of action, conjure up a world of sturdy manliness, a solid world of physical action, and purity of mental and moral life.

While the 'Note-books' already referred to, written as they were inside Arabia, would satisfy the search for the understanding of the contents of the 'Arabia' and the Arabic elements in the book, the 'Word-Notes' on 'Arabia Deserta' are the real key to the understanding of the vocabulary and style. The Orientalists and Arabists should use the former, and the students of English language and literature should go to the latter. English necessarily dominates even in the 'Note-books', but they are full of Arabic words and phrases and they provide the subject-matter of the 'Arabia'. But in the 'Word-Notes' the Arabic element subsides into a secondary place, and all the wealth of Doughty's literary and linguistic studies is shown. Here Doughty is seen at work sifting and evaluating, and choosing words and phrases from a host of writers and a great number of books from the early days of English to its golden period in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries. In these 'Arabia Deserta Word-Notes' we find ourselves as near as we could be to the world of his poems. When one reads Taylor and McCormick one feels bogged down in the vocabulary of the 'Arabia' where the Arabic elements necessarily loom unproportionately large, not because they concentrate on 'Arabia Deserta' but also because they do not seem to have used the 'Word-notes'. But we do not feel the same when we read Treneer, or when we read Mrs. Robbins' introduction to 'The Dawn in Britain' because

they, and especially the latter, have studied the 'Word-Notes'. When we look into Doughty's 'Word-Notes' successively one after the other, the 'Word-Notes' on the 'Arabia' first, the 'Word-Notes' on 'The Dawn' after, and then the 'Word-Notes' on 'Adam Cast Forth', and on each of the later poems, we discover some curious facts on Doughty's works. First we discover the wonderful continuity and constancy of his prose and poetry. Secondly we discover the unchallengeable predominence of English sources and English influences on his work, the 'Arabia' included. Thirdly we discover the curious fact of limitations of Doughty's vocabulary. We discover that he sticks admirably to the words and phrases he likes and repeats them in prose and verse, from the 'Arabia' to 'Mansoul'.

The first of these points is an important point made clear in the short introduction to 'The Dawn in Britain' by Mrs. Robbins. The second is a point on which most of Doughty's critics are agreed. The third is a point nobody has drawn attention to before. But whatever the mood or atmosphere, in war or in peace, among warriors, or elves or factory-workers certain words keep coming and coming back. Most of these words are borrowings, not from other languages, but from old English and middle English words which Doughty tries hard to revive and rehabilitate. But all these words were studied as we said by Treneer, Taylor and McCormick. Treneer dips appreciating his words here and there. Taylor and McCormick concentrate on the sources be they Old English or Middle English, obsolete or living, literary or dialect words. The sources lead to earlier authors, and the names of Wyclif, Chaucer

Elyot, Ascham, Tyndale and Coverdale, Spenser and the Authorised Version of the Bible recur so frequently that they need to be discussed. McCormick, for example, draws attention to the references in the 'Arabia Deserta' itself to Chaucer as the 'noble English poet', written exactly as the block-letter copy of Chaucer's works owned by Doughty. She also refers to the other direct reference and quotation from Sir Henry Wotton that 'An Ambassador is an honest man sent to lie abroad for the Commonwealth' (I, Page 2). Most of the other references in the 'Arabia' seem to come from the 'Old Testament', like the reference to God as a tower in (I, Page 13) "A tower of salvation, ... is His name". (See Psalm CXLIV 2, or II Samuel, XXII, 3). There is another reference apparently to Spenser's Epithalamion (I, Page 433) in Doughty's words, "For a short time an endless monument". ('Arabia Deserta', I, Page 12). But one could write a long chapter on the references in the 'Arabia', possibly one long article on those from the Bible alone.

Although we have discussed the authors and books studied and used by Doughty, in Chapter II, we need to refer to the more important names in connection with the vocabulary and the style of 'Arabia Deserta'. Even if all cannot be included, at least the more important names should be briefly discussed. First in time and importance among them is Chaucer. Doughty himself as we have said has fostered the notion that Chaucer was his master, and the critics had all something to say about it. It seems to me that two important factors are clear. First, the affinity between them in vocabulary in particular, and in syntax sometimes, is generally accepted. Secondly, the difference between Doughty and Chaucer in temperament and spirit and in the over-all colouring of the works is

also noticeable. Those who go into a detailed study of Doughty's vocabulary give Chaucer a prominent place among the influences on Doughty's works. Those who pass a general judgment on the trend of his works do not. Chaucer's strong influence is dealt with in the works of Fairley, Treneer, Taylor and McCormick. In direct opposition to them stand, as we have seen, I.H. McMurry and S.P. Sherman, who consider Doughty's apparent adulation of Chaucer deceptive and insincere. Martin Armstrong agrees that Chaucer is an influence, but he thinks that his influence is not deep. Professor Fairley (Page 232) says that Chaucer is seen through the eyes of Spenser, and consequently his influence is subordinate to Spenser's. A. Treneer agrees (Page 25) and then she studies fully the relationship between Chaucer's poetry and Doughty's prose in the 'Arabia', because Chaucer's influence is at its greatest not in Doughty's poem but in the 'Arabia'. She stresses first the debt in vocabulary, and then notices that both have a quick eye for a turn of phrase or one slight bit of detail which illuminates a dead passage and suddenly brings it to life. She comments on the similar skill in both writers of describing scenes and drawing characters. She says that Doughty's renderings of conversations is akin to Chaucer's, and so is his straight manner of telling a story. As examples she compares Chaucer's three riders going to kill Death with Doughty's story of Nejumy's youth exploits. She notices the similarity between the moral lesson given at the end of the Abdulleh's Sirwan's story of the Luhhaby (II, Page 156) "The young may the old outrun but not outread", and Chaucer's line "Men may the olde

at-reune, but not at-rede" (Knight's Tale, I, 2479), and that leads her to what in her opinion is one of the most important affinities between Chaucer and Doughty: their similar fondness and use of proverbs. She refers particularly to Doughty's Chaucerian Idioms (Pages 151, 153) and Chaucerian combinations of words, which survive still in some contemporary dialects. Prominence is naturally given to Doughty's debt to Chaucer in general in the way of vocabulary. The same is apparent in Taylor's article, and he particularly deals with words, and there he traces back an equal number of words in the "Arabia" to Chaucer as to Spenser (Pages 26-27-28), and detects whole phrases in the "Arabia" taken from Chaucer. The Arab way of eating (I, 399) reminds Taylor of Chaucer's Prioress at table, and he records the reference and the quotation in the "Arabia" (I, 619) from Chaucer's "Wife of Bath". A. McCormick summarises the work of all these and adds that the influences of Chaucer is prominent in the earlier parts of "Arabia Deserta", while the influences of the Bible are predominant in the rest of the book. The passage on the caravan thief is mainly Chaucerian, she says, while the later passage on the religious beggar (I, 52) cannot be. In manner and words, she says, Rasheyd (II, 439) is 'a most Chaucerian portrait'.

With Chaucer's name Spenser is always linked, and it is indeed true that Spenser is the more important of the two as an influence on Doughty's work. But in the case of the "Arabia" the older poet seems to have been more influential. Something in the world of "Arabia" was basically similar to the world of Chaucer, and Doughty in Arabia carried some of Chaucer's works. Spenser's influence is prominent in "The Dawn

in Britain" and the other poems. Still Treneer sees in the rambling form of the "Arabia", something from Spenser's form in "The Faerie Queene". She says that the definiteness of detail in the "Arabia" comes from Chaucer, and the mazy outlines from the "Faerie Queene". But the main contribution of Spenser to the "Arabia" seems to be the field of vocabulary. Both Treneer and Taylor studied it, and gave fewer words to Spenser than to Chaucer. McCormick sums it up, and goes on to say that the real kinship between Doughty and Spenser is "one of alertness, of acuteness, of zest of observation and imagination, resultant in writing of immense richness", which does not say much.(1)

Another important source of Doughty's rich vocabulary is Roger Ascham. A. Treneer refers to him (Pages 19, 156) as a possible source. A. McCormick, though she admits that she has no solid proof of Doughty's readings in Ascham, does not doubt his influences on Doughty. Perhaps because she feels she lacks the proof, she ends by saying "the resemblance of Doughty's prose to Ascham's, when all is said and done, like that it bears to Hakluyt's and Maundeville's, is not so much of vocabulary and turn of sentence, as of the essence of writing - thought". But we who know for sure that Doughty has studied Ascham carefully(2) and copied from his books in his copy books, know that Doughty's debt to Ascham <u>includes</u> also that of vocabulary. McCormick is indeed right in noticing the similarity between the two authors in their combination of energy and directness, in

(1) The great influence of Spenser is shown in other parts of this thesis, particularly Chapters IV and VI.

(2) Read the references in Chapter II of this thesis, and notice also Doughty's reference to Ascham in the Post Illn to "The Dawn in Britain".

their economy of imagery, constructing images of singuler force which would drive home their idees directly to the least imaginative reader, sometimes even using images of startling unpleasantness. Still Doughty is different from Ascham. He never follows Ascham's logical well-arranged representation of material and the clear geometrical structure of his works. Whatever the similerities are, we must not forget that Ascham was one influence among many.

One of these authors whose name is linked with that of Ascham is Sir Thomas Elyot. And because Elyot's books are included in Hogarth's list of Doughty's borrowings from the Bodleian, critics felt they were on surer grounds here than in the case of Ascham. Treneer (P.17) says that Doughty got the beautiful word 'smell-feast' (II, 536) from Elyot's Latin-English Dictionary. McCormick says that Elyot exerted "as great an influence as Chaucer or Spenser on Doughty". She again quotes Mrs. Robbins as saying that Doughty constently kept the 'Bibliotheca Elyotae' by him in his later years, and that book, she says, "is the most important single source for the archaic and obsolete words of "Travels in Arabia Deserta"." McCormick also notices the similarity between Elyot's style and Doughty's style in general. Both have a great variety of sentence-structure, sometimes very long period sentences and sometimes short effective uncomplicated sentences. Both use rhetoric as a means of variation. Both were artful in their use of repetition, reiteration and re-statement. Both had a nice sense of balance and order. "Save for the times," she says, "when Doughty is swept away by Biblical cadences, it is, I think, Sir Thomas Elyot who is his master in sentence-structure".

With that one can agree except that Elyot is one of many complex influences which go into the making of Doughty's style; so much so that it is dangerous to put so much stress on him as the one important source. For after all there is a host of other important influences which must be considered, and Doughty's case is much more complex than that of Sir Thomas Elyot.

One great influence for example is the work of the Tudor and Stuart books of travels, to which we have already referred, and three of which are mentioned in Hogarth's list, and so find their way to the pages of A. McCormick's thesis. Of Camden she is absolutely right, I think, in saying that Doughty owes him not much. There are similarities, but these, like the use of alliteration, and the frequent use of parenthetical intrusions and the use of rhetorical sentences, constantly in Camden but sometimes in Doughty, exist in other authors and prove nothing. Doughty takes nothing in the way of style from Camden. Maundeville is another matter. (1) First of all his travels are partly about Moslem lands, and the attitude of the Christian traveller and the Moslem hosts seem similar in both books. As A. McCormick notices, both are asked to settle down, marry and accept Islam, and both in their pride in Christianity refuse to do so. Both dwell upon the superiority of the camel to the horse in the desert, and upon 'water' as a main factor in the world of Arabia. Both feign revulsion at what they consider the

(1) The authenticity or otherwise, of Maundeville's travels, and the controversies about the authorship of the book are of no consequence here. Doughty has used the book as it is (The 1772 edition).

bestial qualities of the race. But these are common to many Christian travellers to the Moslem lands, and are not, as we have shown, peculiar to Maundeville or Doughty. Then there is the method used in both books. A. Treneer says that Doughty is very like Maundeville "when he tells of what he has heard" (P. 127), and gives Amen's story of "matter-of-fact marvels" (Arabia Deserta II, 166) as an example. A. McCormick gives a list of words and phrases used by both writers like 'Mesh', which Taylor lists as a dialect word, 'do off' which is now obsolete (II, 216), 'bever' which Doughty preferred to 'beverage', and 'sunsetting' for the going down of the sun. On Doughty's sentence-structure Maundeville has no influence. In both, 'and' is frequently used as an introductory conjunction. In both there is frequent usage of the negative in preference to the direct positive statement. But both these were common phenomena among most Seventeenth Century prose-writers.

Similarities between Doughty's work and that of Hakluyt are more marked and more important. Many critics have considered Hakluyt as important an influence on "Arabia Deserta" as Chaucer, Elyot or the Bible. We have quoted Sydney Cockerell's words on Hakluyt as the source of Doughty's archaism of style. Anne Treneer mentions Hakluyt's influence in her chapter on "The Dawn in Britain" and not on the "Arabia". And it is vital to stress the fact that Hakluyt and most of the other Elizabethan and Tudor authors were read and studied by Doughty before he ever thought of going into Arabia, in preperation for a poetic career. As such they lie embedded in the basic layers of all his works. But the affinity between Hakluyt and the "Arabia" is self-evident. The influence of the

great English Compendium must have been lasting on the mind of that young patriot about to begin his travels in the wide world. A. McCormick notices that in Doughty as much as in the travels of Hakluyt, there are the same unquenchable zest, the same strong fortitude and the same determined humanity. Although those earlier travellers travelled to the Middle East as merchants, yet they had eyes for the exact description of everything they see (e.g. monuments). McCormick again notices the same preoccupation in Hakluyt as in Doughty with the 'Religion' of the Sophie (P. 370–1) and with Islamic prayers, and expresses the same contempt (Hakluyt P. 424). She finds again the same shrewdness coupled with an unworldly simplicity in both, and the same contrast between the joy of finding food and water after a long span of hunger. She notices the method of description in the various travellers and its affinity with that of Doughty. Doughty like the Hakluyt voyagers and not like Burton, Wellin or Palgrave, does not use the modern methods or terms, but goes about like Sixteenth Century travellers, first describing, say, the plant he sees, then compering it to some common English plant the reader would know, and at last stating the different uses of the plant.

About vocabulary she lists some few words and phrases common in both, and then expresses her opinion that Hakluyt is the source of some of them, like 'Wadmel' (Arabia Deserta, I, 59) which comes from 'Wadmolle' (Hakluyt II, 115), and 'Carding' (meaning card-playing) ("Arabia Deserta" I, 151, and in Hakluyt II, 199), the use of 'other' as plural, and friendly as an adverb. Other more important features of style make Hakluyt a nearer source for Doughty's "Arabia" than either Camden or

Maundeville. Although sentences are more complex and varied in Doughty, yet there is a similarity of rhythms, of phrase arrangement, of length of paragraphs, and of the usage of certain literary devices in Hakluyt and the "Arabia". Doughty's use of alliteration is far more artful and more effective in its deliberate evocation and sharpening of the senses of sight, hearing, taste and smell, but the rudiments of that are still in Hakluyt. The same goes for deliberate repetition, for the black-and-white sudden contrasts, and for the mastery shown in both books of the Biblical lore. But Doughty's sentences are more compact than, and are rarely as long as, those of Hakluyt, and the inversions of Doughty are more daring and more frequent. Doughty cuts the sentence into phrases, rearranging the words and the phrases always in the way that the reader least expects. Some of his instruments to attain that have their equivalent in Hakluyt. Frequently both use the present participle where one would expect the past participle. Frequently sentences start with an introductory participial phrase, which does not necessarily qualify the subject of the main verb. Frequently sentences are interrupted half-way through, in grammar as well as sense, by the insertion of involved parenthetical phrases or clauses. In both Hakluyt and Doughty there is the same curious blend of fact and fancy, though Doughty's fancy is truth which is indeed stranger than fiction. And both Doughty and Hakluyt have a strange way of stopping suddenly. The end in both is always unexpected yet business-like. Doughty certainly writes and breathes in the world of Hakluyt, even though this does not prove that Hakluyt's influence on him was the greatest.

Another source for the style of the "Arabia", discussed in general in our previous chapter is the influence of the religious writings of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries. We have already referred to the curious similarities of ideas between Doughty's interest in Religion and in the Semitic beginnings of Christianity and the ideas of Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century divines. But when one reads into the "Arabia" one meets strange instances of vocabulary, phrase and turns of sentences which remind one of the writings of Latimer and Cranmer. Nearest to them are the few impassioned cries of anguish and fatigue and the more frequent outbursts against Islam and the Arabs and the Semites in general. The venom which he displays there, sometimes direct and pointed, and sometimes indirect and ironical, but always based on a feeling of self-righteousness, has its beginnings in the bitter controversies of Catholic versus Protestant, and Anglican versus Puritan, in the England of the Tudors and the Stuarts. Another important lesson was certainly learnt from the Sermons of that age. It is there that Doughty had learnt the secret of making his style living, not as written words, but as direct spoken words of a living man addressing living men. It is possible, since more than half of the "Arabia" is conversational, to maintain that the effect of the sermon is the great single element that goes into the making of the complex work, which is the "Arabia Deserta". Sometimes you hear a succession of solemn didactic passages (Chapter IX, Volume I, says McCormick, is a succession of sermons on gluttony, hypocrisy and malice) and then suddenly a twist of a sentence, a turn of phrase, like a sharp stab bringing all the meaning home in a quick living word. Sometimes an Arab speaks, and one feels transferred into an

Arab character play not unlike the lower circles depicted in Elizabethan plays.

But possibly the greatest influence on Doughty's work in general and "Arabia Deserta" in particular is that of the Bible. The Bible was the one book with which he was familiar in his childhood and which held his attention and interest all through his long life, the book which he knew in more than one language and in all its available English versions. In "Arabia Deserta" everything seen or heard is explained on the spot in Biblical terms. The experiences he was actually living through had all been rehearsed and experienced in his readings of the Holy Book. Each character and each incident is explained through its equivalent terms in the Bible. McCormick says that there are more than 80 Biblical allusions and over 40 Biblical quotations, mostly from the Old Testament in the "Arabia". These allusions and quotations and the Biblical remembrances are not ornamental, but are part of the design of the whole book, and part of Doughty's original thought, she says. But she goes beyond that into an unconvincing attempt to prove that the Bible contains the whole secret of Doughty's style. Sentence-structure, she says, almost on every page is that of ancient Hebrew poetry. She goes on to copy profusely from the writers who explained the rules of Hebraic verse-writing like Bishop Lowther, Driver and Gardiner, to show how 'Parallelism' in all its kinds, synonymous, synthetic, constructive, and climactic, which dominated Hebrew poetry is followed by Doughty. She explains how that simple Hebrew pattern of sentence-structure contracts fundamentally with the complex synthetic Aryan pattern. In Doughty she sees all kinds of Parallelisms,

all Hebrew-like distiches, tristiches, tetrastiches and even pentastiches. Like Hebrew poetry she says Doughty does not bring his clauses together in a complex sentence, where some clauses are subordinated to others, but drops the subordination and links them slightly together so that the effect is that of juxtaposition, of cumulation, of repetition until the effect is gained gradually. Doughty, she says, drops and, when and since and leaves the connection between the parts implied. She adds also that the placing of the adjective at the beginning of the sentences frequently used by Doughty, is a Biblical borrowing, mainly from the Psalms. His metaphors and similes, she says, are short like the Bible's. Like the Bible he refrains from elaborate majestic sentences and keeps to the simple straight-forward statement.

Now, one is overwhelmed by these arguments which may be right in themselves, yet lead to a distorted idea of Doughty's work. For we cannot belittle the influence of the Bible on Doughty's work. More than that, no one can belittle the influence of the Bible on all English literature. How could any author escape the conscious or unconscious effects of a book read in every house at all times and by all ages? But let us not forget that the Bible, and the Authorised Version in particular, was one of the main factors which led to the symmetrical finesse, and polished literature of the Eighteenth Century, and that Doughty was in revolt exactly against that smooth polished monotonous lullaby-like style. In going back to the earlier periods he was searching for something which would shock the reader into life, and never allow him to acquiesce or slacken or rest. Repetition was there no doubt, and repetition in Doughty is one tool of the

master which is used with consummate skill. But his repetitions are not like the smooth gradual repetitions of the Hebrew poets. He drops something and leaves it to something else, and then suddenly after a while brings it back to you, and expects you to remember it. Words are arranged cleverly, so cleverly that the pace is slow, grave and measured, but it is like the walk of a giant, not the quaint repetitions of the psalmist. Parallelism exists, but it is not everything. Metaphors are simple but not always. Doughty, as if he knew somebody would say so, started the "Arabia" with that complicated elaborate highly technical almost grand style of the first sentence. In the heart of the "Arabia" we have the story of the House of Ibn Rasheyd which is not less in grandeur than the best in Elizabethan Drama, and at the end of the book in Jidda we have another romantic highly complex piece of imaginative prose. To explain the "Arabia" in terms of the Bible only is altogether wrong. As Taylor was wrong in explaining it by playing up the Arabic influences; so McCormick is wrong in playing up the Hebraic element. We must realize that the style of the "Arabia" is, as Treneer puts it, "infinitely various". "He made", says Treneer again, "the fullest use of the variety in rhythm which English commands in virtue of its composite diction."

That leads to our second observation, and that is that 'Parallelism' was never a Hebraic monopoly. Another word which applies to an extreme example of it is 'Euphuistic', and Lily was the subject of Doughty's early studies. Why can we not say that Lily's influence on Doughty's prose was great? Because Doughty was a collector of rare and wonderful things and no lover of extremes. If you went to prove that 'Euphuism' had influenced

Doughty's style you can, but you will be trying to cover the whole field with a small blanket, as Taylor and McCormick have done. Our third point is that unlike what McCormick says Doughty has studied best and was influenced more, not by the A.V. of the Bible, but by the earlier versions of Wyclif, and the others and in particular by that of Tyndale. Professor Elton's view that Doughty's owed much to the 'Authorized Version' might be a general references to a general debt, not meant to be applied minutely to the word. Middleton Murry's view that for Doughty, "the magnificent efflorescence of the language of Shakespeare and Milton might never have been; hardly even the English Bible" (Mr. Doughty's Arabia," The Athenaeum I Page 150) should also not be taken as meaning that he was not in luenced by the Bible at all. The truth is simply that Doughty was up against something, and was aiming at something else, and that decided his attitude towards any author or book.

He was dissatisfied with the easy-going smoothness of English writing at the time, in both prose and poetry. The way the writers wrote to lull their readers to sleep, the way that readers read to help themselves to sleep, the way the authors lulled the senses of their readers out of alertness, the way the readers minced their words and fused them together in an undistinguished mumbled mass or whole, these were the constant dangers of Doughty always bore in mind. Thus the paramount aim of his art is never to allow his reader to doze or his mind to rest. Language is, to begin with, made up of words and his words were complete units

in themselves, so hard and so distinct as never to lose themselves in a larger structure. The word became by itself the subject of careful scrutiny by the author, and was expected to be the object of the same care in the hands of the reader. The writer deliberated long on his words, and studied, as no other author had perhaps done, the wealth of words in the English language, and he was not limited to one particular age. Words used by Chaucer in the Fourteenth Century and words used by Spenser in the Sixteenth Century were studied just in the same way in which dialect words of his day were studied and used. Some critics attack Doughty for 'archaisms,' because they think that his usages of archaic words was excessive. But the balance is perhaps redressed when we remember that Doughty uses also dialect words from the mouths of Su folk shepherds and farmers, and used new scientific words from the discoveries of modern science and borrows Arabic words or German or French or Italian or Latin or Latinate words, as the need arises. Because 'archaic' words, in the opinion of these critics, are dead and buried, their resurrection by Doughty comes as a shock to their ears. We have made it clear that shock in particular was part of Doughty's deliberate scheme. It did not matter where the word was found, if it suited his end. That is why one cannot accept the usual notion of Doughty's <u>supposed</u> intention never to use a word

which was not to be found in the pages of Chaucer and Spe.

But if the field of choice was so extensive, Doughty must have had his own definite ways of assessing the value of a given word, for its ultimate inclusion or otherwise into the fabric of his work. And indeed he had. Any word which was so familiar and so matter of fact, as to be taken for granted and swallowed unconsciously by his reader was then definitely out. Any word which was so vague and indefinite as to allow the mind of the reader to wander and roam was similarly out. Any word which would confuse the reader, or make him lose his grip in a maze of doubt or abstraction or emotional unsettlement was also out. To be included the word should be <u>precise</u>, <u>direct</u> and <u>pointed</u>. The verb, 'to be,' for example, when the idea of 'being or existence' is not meant is generally dropped, and the sentence then would perhaps stand without a verb - not because Doughty is breaking the rules of grammar, but because he would not use a word in vain. Economy, we might call it, but economy in Doughty does not necessarily mean a loss of number of words, as it means the precise usage of words.

Nor is the emotive halo around some words treated as an end in itself. Because the emotive power of words is generally speaking part of what is familiar to the author and the reader or readers, and consequently would not shock into alertness but

might, on the other hand, lull into aquiescence, that emotive power is generally dispensed with. Even the most familiar words are thrown into new combinations and set under a new light. That is why Doughty's words always strike us as new and fresh. The rust on them is removed and they stand as definite and barren as the objects they stand for. Words are meant to be hard unsentimental and precise. Thus, for example, his words differ from those of Spenser's. Spenser's words are juicy and Doughty's words show their hard core. Spenser's words shed sentimental or emotional rays around while Doughty's are chiselled gems radiating their intrinsic unsentimental unemotional light. Spenser's words are quaint notes of romantic lyrical music to gladden the heart and amuse the ear, while Doughty's words are pointed high notes of slow march-like music meant to strike the ear-drum and keep the mind awake.

It is in the Word-Notes (~~See Appendix for an example of these~~) that Doughty's arduous study of authors and books in search for words, is fully shown. I have used the Word-Notes sparingly and benefited from them whenever possible, but a full study of these will certainly make a most fascinating study of a unique poet working in a unique manner wrestling with words. W. Taylor and A. McCormick in dealing with the vocabulary of 'Arabia' have done a useful job, but it is one step in the right direction and not all the way. Neither of them seem to have used the Word-Notes.

Taylor concentrated on the words in the book itself, and McCormick added to that a study of the 'Not--books' of the Arabian journey but not the 'Word-Notes.' Treneer's study is wider, including both prose and poetry, and she has certainly used the Word-Notes, so that her book is the fullest and most satisfying book, until now, on the technical side of Doughty's work. But nothing less than the complete study of the Word-Notes as word-notes, would give a complete picture of Doughty's effort in his struggle with words. It will, moreover show the unity of all his works, prose and poetry in that they have a common source from which the words flow into each work. 'Arabia Deserta,' 'The Dawn in Britain' and 'Mansoul' and the rest will be shown to spring from the common stock of words, chosen and stored in the common treasure-box.

The second step was the art of making compound words out of them, and here Doughty's experiments are an important part of his linguistic legacy. Perhaps nobody in the Nineteenth Century, not even Tennyson, has done as much as Doughty did in the free formation of new compound words. 'He uses,' says W. Taylor, 'a freedom not seen since Old English times ' - and he considers this Doughty's 'chief way' in enriching th English vocabulary. But Doughty, as usual, does not seem to have a fast and tight rule for his formation of compound words. He kept on experimenting and using different formations at different times. His one aim was indeed to increase the efficiency of English to express new shades of meaning through new energetic formations

of existent words. (1) Substantives, nouns, adjectives, combinations of each in one word or in hyphenated words, but this is no place to list them. Other people have done that. Here we record it as a major step in the structure of his style and diction.

But the words, single and compound, studied, chosen and stored, were in turn used as parts of larger units. First, the phrase and here generally speaking Doughty adheres to the common rules of English grammar except that as usual he takes the whole history of the language as his quarry. Sometimes the phrases have the ring of the idiomatic phrases of the lower characters in an early lizabethan play. Sometimes he will use 'substitute phrases' similar to the Kennings of Old English poetry. But sometimes the phrases roll on in the easiest simplest way of common English - provided there are other pokers to keep the reader always on the alert. A study of the art of phrase making in Doughty is no less fruitful than a study of his use of words. And the industry which meticulously welds these together from the sketchy fragments of the Word-Notes to the rich variety and complexity in his published works needs a longer space than we can afford here. It is in the making of his phrases and the

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(1) Walt Taylor gives a long list of Doughty's compounds. Treneer refers briefly to them on Page 118 (Prose) and discusses the affinities of the compounds in Doughty's poetry with the Old English Compounds and with Spenser's Compounds later on Pages 227-229 and 253-54).

structure of his clauses that Doughty, the great artist shows himself, more so than in any one other side of his work. Clauses are of all the various types known in English from its earliest periods to its latest. The attempt to find 'one' preferable source in some external influence or other only neglects the wealth and diversity of it all. Doughty's style depends not on one but on all the sources and influences. This Theis is not mainly concerned with Doughty's style and diction, because although that is certainly the most important side of his work, other critics (2) tried their hands at it, each exploring one or more side of the field. And it seems to me that the attitude of each critic seems to be decided mainly by the critic's own point of interest or departure. The famous parable about the blind touching various parts of an elephant and defining the elephant differently in each case depending on the part he touched, is similar. One thing we should not miss is that they are right, but the 'truth' of the matter lies in bringing them altogether, and in never forgetting the oneness, the unity of the object they are dealing with. Thus the unity of Doughty's language, in both prose and poetry, should not be forgotten. As Mrs. Robbins puts it the achievements of Doughty's creative genius cannot be fully appreciated unless his style and his diction, his prose and poetry, all the sides of his art are considered as the products of one mind using all its endowments to the working out of the same artistic purpose. The study of words, phrases and clauses all through the various periods of the English Language and Literature, which started

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(1) Fairley, Treneer, Taylor and McCormick should be consulted.

in his young days and blossomed into his own prose and poetry, must be looked at as one process. External influences played a part not because they were influences on him, but because they were already living influences that became living parts of the stream of English language and literature. The composite nature of English was understood by nobody better than by Doughty. This was the freedom he cherished, and used to shock the Victorian reader from the facile easy-going somnambulism of the period into an awareness of the richness of his language and the wealth of his literature. 'Arabia Deserta' should be taken as the first chance he found to express his faith in English, and his own ability to use it, and to demonstrate to the public how the rich legacy of their language could be used - and all in preparation for the great enterprise he always had in mind - the writing of a great patriotic epic. 'Arabia Deserta' leads directly to 'The Dawn in Britain.'

Doughty's theory of poetry, like that of the Sixteenth Century poets, aimed always at, and expressed a desire for, moving men to virtuous action. All the apologies for poetry, written in the England of the Tudors and the Stuarts, had at the back of the mind the puritan attacks on poetry as a field of immorality. In Doughty's heart there was the deeply-ingrained need to counteract and sweep away the actual libertinism of Nineteenth Century poetry, and the not-so-clean private lives of contemporary poets. Poetry was for him, as it was for Sidney, an act of faith. The moral values of poetry needed no affirmation or defence. Doughty wrote no criticism and no apologies and no credoes. The fact that it was written 'to instruct' needed no exposition. What he needed was to proceed and <u>do</u> it. Behind him he had all the classical theoreticians of Greece and Rome, and all the Renaissance critics from Minturno and Scaliger to Harvey and Sidney. His readings in his younger days included not only the poetry of these earlier ages, but also their aesthetic writings. He is certainly nearer to their ways than to the Nineteenth Century controversies around the notions of 'Art for Art's Sake'. Doughty's moral views of poetry were too serious to allow him to indulge in any expressions of selfish pleasure or libertine self-satisfaction. Even the second leg of the Horatian axiom, of 'poetry used to profit <u>and</u> to delight' was qualified and limited by Doughty's moral vicissitudes. If poetry was to instruct, it could easily instruct in evil. But that was no instruction in Doughty's creed; it was corruption, and he would never tolerate it or even speak of it. If poetry was to delight, it could again delight in two different ways. In one way it could revive and work

upon the baser pleasure-loving side of Man. Doughty would look at that in complete disapproval - so much so that his over-all respect and love for Chaucer's poetry seems to have suffered because of the vulgar, baser elements in the world of Chaucer's books. Delight in Doughty's creed was another indirect way towards instruction, and an alternative method of inculcating virtue. As Sydney puts it, "light to move men to take that goodness in hand, which without delight they would fly as from a stranger....". Under that heading in Doughty's poetry come the delights of Natural description, of Spring and plants and birds, and the delights of fancy and imagination, the world of gods and goddesses, the Muse's Garden, and the delights of fairies and elves. This was indeed very important, but it was still secondary in importance to the serious business of moral instruction. Nothing was more important in Doughty's creed than virtue. That was his unmistakeble yardstick with which everything in life, in thought or in literature was to be measured. The best poets in his opinion were as much the best in moral considerations as well as in language and imagination. And the worst are those worst in both moral content and poetic expression. There is no division between aesthetics and morality in Doughty. When he speaks then of 'Ars Poetica' he means something far wider then the limited field of poetic expression. The extensive studies of poetry, language, thought and theology through which he had gone in his early years were for him an all-consuming act of faith. The only choice he allowed himself at the start was the choice of poetry as his main vocation instead of, say, painting or musical composition. From then onward it meant the dedication of everything. "It is the Ars Poetica

to which I have been wedded;" he wrote, "and I have devoted my life thereto ever since I left Cambridge. My travels, wanderings and sojournings in other Lands have been but incidents therein." (1) Arabia, from all these travels, was fortunate in producing a book, but even his Arabian journey and his travel book, were meant to be landmarks along the road of poetic-expression. He calls them 'a life day's interruption', but yet uses them in his poetic endeavours. Thus life, studies and work, subject-matter and expression in prose or verse, all lead towards a pre-determined end - the writing of an epic. Nothing less than the greatest form of poetic expression known to Europe could suffice. The choice of form was as much a point of aesthetics as a point again of moral necessity.

In the whole body of Doughty's mature works (2) one does not find a short poem. All are either in the form of a literary play, or in the form of an epic or a fragment of an epic. (3) Why is it that Doughty's mind has thus been poised only between the sister forms of drama and epic? One remembers the most illuminating example of Milton in his long hesitation before the writing of "Paradise Lost". Unlike Milton Doughty does not seem to have hesitated, for the dream of writing an epic comes very early in his career. 'Drama' was the chosen form of

(1) Quoted by Hogarth (Pp.140-1).

(2) The only comparatively short poem is his earliest undergraduate work "The Lay of the Long One."

(3) "Adam Cast Forth" could qualify as a play or as a fragment of an epic. "The Titans" and "Mansoul" would qualify as fragments of epics. "The Cliffs" and "The Clouds" are literary plays.

the giants Aeschylus, Sophocles and Euripides and Aristophanes. The epic was the form used by Homer. And for Doughty Homer was the 'Father of European..... poetic art'. He would prefer him to the dramatists at any time. His voice was the 'human-divine voice of their heroic world', while the voices of the Greek Dramatists were quaint human voices of a later civilization of men on earth. In England the epic was the form chosen by Spenser, 'darling of the divine Muses', while drama was the chosen form of Marlowe, Shakespeare and Ben Jonson. And Doughty would have chosen Spenser at any time. While the age crowned by Spenser's attempt at an epic was again Doughty's golden age of English life and thought and English language and poetry, the age into which Drama moves and flourishes was, to him, the beginnings of decadence and corruption. The epic was thus in his mind linked always with the golden more heroic age. But there are other reasons. One corroborative reason, for example, is the difference in kind between the contents of epics and the contents of some large body of plays. There is nothing vulgar or wanton in epic poetry produced in Greece or Rome or France or England. Even in the earlier pagan epics there is a serene purity of open-air life, and a vigorous manliness of unsophisticated Man. Drama on the other hand, in Greece or Italy or France or England was used sometimes as an expression of lewd immoral life or vulgar barbarism or the polished enervated life of effeminate men. One other reason is the difference between epic and drama in form. Drama is possibly the one high form of poetical expression which is most shackled by the necessity of conforming to external factors of place, time and presentation. Even when it is only literary drama, not at all meant for

the stage, as Doughty's later attempts were not, the poet must still pay lip service to the limitations and the restrictions of character, plot and action in a given frame of play, acts, and scenes. Doughty was by nature diffuse. His immense knowledge and vast erudition was there, acquired to find its ways to the reader, and not to be suppressed or trimmed or thrown aside. The free-est form of English Romantic drama would have certainly been too limited and too exacting to his liking. A play's unity, moreover, is most effective when it organically springs from within, like the growing of a tree, while Doughty's way is to build, brick on brick, and layer put on top of a layer, and storeys added on to storeys, to make a huge cathedral-like edifice. Repetitions of word, phrase and idea abound in his works and none could have suited the limited space of Drama. Doughty always needed a vast unlimited canvas to paint upon, and the vastest canvas, allowing the poet the maximum of freedom, was certainly the epic.

That the epic was not the most indigenous of poetical forms in Nineteenth Century England was of no consideration in Doughty's opinion. For his dissatisfaction with the trends of poetry in his age included ipso facto a refusal of the lightness of the elegiac or lyrical forms. We are not in need of citing the arguments of Edgar Allan Poe or the example of Baudelaire, for the mere citing of their names would have seemed to Doughty a profanation. Not that Doughty knew or read their poetry, but they were looking forward to an age when the passage of time was too quick and the complexities of life too great to allow the poet or the reader the luxury of composing or reading a long epic. Doughty

on the other hand was looking back at an earlier more leisurely age when poetry was the greatest gift of the Muse to Man, and the epic was the greatest form of noble poetry and the prime choice of all ambitious poets. The two ways were indeed clear in Doughty's mind, for to the noble 'fruitful Homeric tradition' revived 'in the classical Renaissance' he contrasts the poetic endeavours of Nineteenth Century Romantic poetry as 'the other self-sprung bardism: now, it is said, like Abana and Pharpar, nearly run-out to the dregs, and unwholesome pools in the desert'.(1) Nearer to him was the earlier divine voice of Homer, Virgil, Dante and Spenser. His early studies were of their poetry, and in that world, the epic form stood supreme. Thus it should not come as a new revelation that Doughty had the idea of his epic in his mind "since the year '65, and even during my wanderings in Arabia". (2) Doughty was too serious and too ambitious not to try the greatest of all literary forms. The epic was to be the form, but what would be its subject?

Again Milton's example jumps to the mind, for Milton's first idea was to write an epic on the legendary history of Britain. "I will some day recall in song", wrote he, "the things of my native land, and Arthur, who carried War even into fairyland. Or I shall tell of those great-hearted champions bound in the society of the Round Table, and (O may the Spirit be in me!) I shall break the Saxon phalanxes with British war." Before him Spenser himself showed the way, for his complete "Faerie

(1) "Post Illa" - P.687, in "The Dawn in Britain".

(2) See Hogarth (P.144).

Queene" was to be mainly on Arthur and his 'Round Table'. Doughty of course knew Spenser and Milton, but one is not sure if he ever knew Coleridge's statement that the only suitable topic that remained to English poets was the early history of Britain. Whetever be the case Doughty's mind was decided upon the early history of his country and race as the subject of his epic. The fact that the "Fairie Queene" is hardly concerned, at least outwardly, with the actual history of Arthur, and that Milton eventually abandoned his patriotic theme to a theological theme clearly projects in relief the difference between each of them and Doughty. For Spenser was no less patriotic than either, and no less occupied with moral themes. But the more important themes in his plan and execution take on the usual abstraction, the conventional allegorical structure of his age. The "Fairie Queene" was meant to be made up of twelve books each showing one chivalrous exploit linked with Arthur's 'Round Table', and dealing with one cardinal moral virtue. The way in which the six books and the fragment which we have of the epic are written shows that Spenser's epic would have all of it, or most of it been in the allegorical abstract sphere. Doughty would not object to allegorical features. He brings some into his epic, and later uses them more freely in "The Cliffs" and in "Mansoul". But he was too scientifically orientated, too practically-minded, too solid to hover always above in the allegorical world of personified abstractions. His main characters are either real historical characters whose lives and actions are well-known, or men, dim in legend or history, but brought by him down to a solid basis of flesh and bones and action on this earth of ours. Spenser's work could never be read as history. Doughty's certainly could.

Milton is again another kindred spirit, but the difference between him and Doughty is still well marked. Milton's change of subject in itself is significant, for his wings were too wide and too strong to hover above such a limited space as England or a fixed race as the English. Nor was he inclined to accept the limited scope of a patriotic theme. Thus he chose 'to justify the ways of God to Men'. Man included all humanity, and the action covered Heaven, Hell and Earth. Milton was exercising his tremendous powers of thought and imagination in a wide all-inclusive sweep of the eye, something Doughty never chose to do. Whatever the width of Doughty's canvas would be, whatever length of time he would span, he was always on earth, his feet solidly planted on the soil, and his eyes scrutinizing one man or one plant or one spot or one action at a time. Doughty would not talk about justice rhetorically, but give you justice in action in men's life. He would not preach the cause of peace against the cause of war, but give you both as they exist. He was always the practical mind. To Milton's Adam and Eve compare for example Doughty's Adam and Hawwe, and the difference between the two poets will be clear. This down-to-earth practicality of Doughty was again the main factor in the choice of this period of British History, for his epic.

Arthur and the Round Table were indeed the most familiar and most popular topics for any literary adventure in the history of Britain before the Norman Conquest. Arthur was, to begin with, the human symbol of British unity against the Saxon invaders. But then his name was more famous as the symbol of a Christian King fighting for the glory of the Cross against evil men at home and infidels abroad - even on the Continent itself.

The Middle Ages and the Renaissance built around his name a huge body of legends. Other strains, not particularly British, found their way to the halo around Arthur's name. Most famous among these was the story of the Holy Grail which somehow brought together the names of Joseph of Arimathea and King Arthur and Glastonbury. Doughty seems to have read all possible sources on all these subjects. But the deliberate way in which all the familiar popular sides of this complex subject are avoided in Doughty's epic is indeed telling. It could not be a mere coincidence that Arthur's name does not occur in "The Dawn in Britain". Arthur's fame was linked in the world of literature with a certain flavour from which Doughty was trying clearly to free his work. To begin with Arthur stood for the age of chivalry and Knighthood in Europe, an age which was brilliant and chivalrous and witty, but was at the same time vainglorious, sophisticated, courtly, fashionable and artificial. In the world of literature it blossomed into the French Romances, and had their great effect on the Renaissance. Doughty was certainly aware of that, and was consciously avoiding the world of 'Romances' to the earlier world of heroic epics. His scientific mind and his practical methods avoided all abstractions, sophistication and sentimentality to an earlier age of simplicity, of solid life and practical men, of brutal axemen and simple sword-bearers. His epic is nearer to the world of Beowulf and the Icelandic Sagas than to the Romances of France or Italy. His heroes, Brennus, Caradoc and Boadicea are nearer the German heroes, Attila, Sigfrid and Beowulf than to Launcelot, Gawain and the other Knights of Arthur's 'Round Table'. W.P. Ker, comparing the world of the heroic epic with

the Medieval world of the Romances which succeeded it, draws our attention to those two worlds confronting each other on the two opposing sides at the battle of Hastings. It is fortunate that Doughty makes it clear in another context ("The Cliffs of Dover", Part IV) that he stands on the side of the simpler, cruder and more natural axemen of Harold, and not on the side of the Norman Knights of William, the Conqueror. In avoiding Arthur Doughty was moving in the same direction in which all his nature and work was moving.

Another important side of the Arthurian story was the use made of them in Doughty's own lifetime, by the greatest of the Victorian poets, Alfred Lord Tennyson. For Tennyson did not shirk from the sophistication of the Age of Chivalry, but he used the legends in the "Idylls of the King" to convey what were fundamentally the ideals and the moral values of the Victorian Age itself. Doughty as much as Tennyson was a Victorian at heart, and that is why he could not escape colouring his work in turn with his own moral values. But unlike Tennyson's there is nothing artificial, nothing sophisticated or magnificent about Doughty's epic. Most of all there is nothing sentimental about it, and the pre-Raphaelite atmosphere of the 'Lady of Shallott' for example is far away in spirit and in fact from what Doughty was trying to do. The avoidance of 'Arthur' was as much a reaction against the Tennysonian world as it was against the Medieval Romances. "The Dawn in Britain" keeps clear from all reference to those most famous of all early British Kings. And the reason for that are more varied and more complex than might appear at first. Behind it all indeed lies a theory which Doughty always held of the history of his fatherland. From the beginning as we noticed in Chapter

I he was aware of the turbulent history of the land, and the different tides of defence and attack and the various races that went into the making of the crucible. Although "The Dawn in Britain" itself does not state it, the theory is still there at its foundations. It was later in "The Prophetic Books" that Doughty made it clear. In "The Clouds" Doughty-Carpenter travels for safety and rejuvenation westwards across the Island to Wales, as if tracing back the history of Britain across space and time to the farthest point and to the earliest race. Normans, Danes, when they went into Britain found and mixed with the Angles and Saxons and Jutes. These in turn had come and mixed with the earlier Celtic Race. The Celts again were themselves of different nations and tribes, and they themselves mixed with Teutonic, Roman and Mediterranean elements.

But if all these races make the British Nation of today, how are we to differentiate between the invador, the enemy of the fatherland, and the mixer, the founder of the future people? In "The Cliffs" (Part IV) Doughty makes his rules clear. Spirits of old British heroes are revived. First comes Carractacus, the Celt, (P.207), the hero of "The Dawn in Britain". Second comes Alfred, the greatest of the Saxon Kings (P.208). But these are clear examples. The third explains Doughty's criterion in drawing lines between National leader, invador and founder. The third is the ghost of Harold; "Whose valorous arm hurled from sea-brow of England, New Danes invaders, on Northumbria's strand". About William the Norman Duke who defeated Harold, Doughty has a clear mind. He calls him "an envious demon", and calls his descendants, "strong Robbers crowned; / Scourges of England, Palestine and France; / Kings

in fair England, without English hearts", and he blames them for shedding English blood in wars overseas, "to maintain their alien foreign rights". But soon comes the reign of Henry IV, and the ghost of St. Joan, and the Normans have become part of the English Nation, and Doughty speaks about "Our Norman guilts". From there it is one short step to the glories of the Tudors and of Elizabeth, (P.210) where England passes through her golden age. In 'The Proeme' to "The Clouds" the theory is made clearer still. The whole history of Britain is seen, as it indeed is, as a series of wars of invasion, followed by long years of assimilation, which blending the old and the new bring about the New Nation.

> Invasion on Invasion! Where is any
> Furlong of England's soil, which sometime hath
> Not supped corruption of men's battle-wounds;
> Where strove invading swarms? .....
> .....
> Nay, and we which, Englishmen now, be homeborn here;
> Are sons of war-wrongs, which before time were!

And again in a clearer note still:

> How boasted thou thyself, son of a Jute,
> Angle or Saxon shipman! Was not then
> Thy mother a bondswoman of this Isle;
> Saved, when her vanquished kinsmen had been slain?
> Thine uncles Northwey pirates? Thy step-sires
> Strong pirates, from next over-laying Main?

Thus in Doughty's mind the whole history of Britain was a continuous stream of Nationhood in which new blood always mixes with the old, but the stream flows unchecked. Important is the blood that flows in the veins given or taken. Important is the breath of life, home-grown or imported. But most important is the soil itself which given to the flux its unifying centripetal force. This is the heart of Doughty's 'Patriotism'. Looking back at the long history of Britain, Doughty was sure thus to go to its

earliest manifestation of a unified entity. There was something to recommend his earlier and most Doughtyesque choice as the title of his epic - "The Utmost Isle".

"The Utmost Isle" as a title shows two points of thought paramount in Doughty's mind at the time. The choice of the geographical term certainly shows his realization of the unity of Britain as one land and one country, whatever the historical changes were. The choice of that appellation in particular, the old 'Ultima Ule' of classical writers shows first the familiar archaeological historical leanings of his mind, and secondly his realization of the links between Britain and Europe, or between Britain and the ancient world. In assessing its individuality, he would not forget or neglect its links with the world. "The Dawn in Britain" is indeed a patriotic poem, and the centre of its see-saw action is indeed Britain. But the outer world from which new blood and new life and a new dawn of religion and civilization came is not forgotten. If 'Arthur', the first British King whose name was linked with Europe and Christianity is not to be mentioned, Doughty was to discover and present earlier and stronger links between Britain, Europe and the Christian Faith. 'Arthur' does not find a place here, but the roots that later were to blossom in him are given here. Instead of choosing a legendary King whose name was wrapped in stories of fiction, and who was historically perhaps not a symbol of unified Britain, fighting as he did against the Anglo-Saxon race, Doughty wanted somebody who would fight, if he were to fight, not for the West of Britain against Eastern Britain, but for

the whole of Britain against alien hordes. Arthur was pushed aside, and the poet travelled further back into the history of Britain then the Arthurian Age - to that of Caradoc and Joseph.

Between the legendary Joseph and the legendary Arthur there are two important links - the Grail and Glastonbury. The grail was indeed important in the legend around Joseph of Arimathea, but it was central in the legends of Arthur. Doughty could hardly neglect completely the one relic of the Lord, which added the brightest halo to the virtuous head of Joseph, if he were to make of him a key figure in his epic: and indeed he does not. Perhaps deliberately, to keep suppressed the Arthurian memories he does not call it the Holy Grail or the grail. The word he uses is the simple word 'cup', and he brings it in the last book where Joseph is preparing to die, and the epic is about to end. There:

"Joseph let, from his bosom, in mid-course,
To slide, that cup of blessing, in the mere:
Unto all, even to this day, unknown the place."

But the act is not meant to be the point of departure for Arthurian legends as much as it is meant to be the real crowning of Doughty's epic. In no one simple action is "The Dawn in Britain" completed as it is indeed in that simple act of depositing the 'cup' in the middle of a lake near Glastonbury. The 'cup', as it always did, stands for the blood, the sacrifice of Christ to save humanity from evil and destruction:

"(That crystal cup, which lifted Jesus up;
What night He was betrayed, to sinner's death;)"

That cup was the symbol of immortal salvation:

"Wherein to memory of Christ's most precious blood,
We drink, through faith, life to our dying souls;"

From that moment Glastonbury becomes a real sanctuary of faith, and the one place in Europe immortalized by the presence of a relic of Jesus in His blood. That by itself is enough glory for a place in Britain, but Doughty rubs in his meaning by a conscious marshalling of other facts. First comes the fall of Jerusalem at the hands of Titus. The first sanctuary of Christ is thus destroyed. The only place where the Blood of the Lord was shed for the sake of Mankind was no longer there. It was 'broken-down'. And the only other place to replace it would consequently be the place where the cup with its memories of Christ's blood is - Glastonbury. And the choice of that place was not made by Man, not by Joseph himself, but by God:

Wherefore, come night, instructed of God's Spirit;
Put Joseph out, with Pistos, on the lake.

But to stop here would have given us the act but not the result of the act, and Doughty is always at pains to make his meaning clear. From here, from Britain, and not from Jerusalem or Rome would the Cross of Christ go out to conquer the world. Doughty's ingenious memory remembers and reminds us that Constantine, the first Christian Emperor of Rome started his glorious career on British soil. So here in Glastonbury, Joseph is shown the shape of things to come, when 'Righteousness' shall be established, and 'sin and these calamities shall cease.':

"Joseph beheld; and saw, in Britain, rise,
(Leading Rome's armies, which Christ crucified,)
Caesar, late nephew to his daughter Claudia;
Which bowed his helm-clad head down, as he went,
To lowly Christ; and worshipped God, the legions!"

Thus in one act, the act of disposing the cup in the middle of the lake, Britain becomes as it were the chosen land of God. Doughty's supreme act of Patriotism is to crown his beloved country with the most coveted, the most sacred relic of the Christian Faith. (1) Patriotism and Religion, we remember, are the two words graven on both sides of the alter of Britannia's Temple in "The Cliffs" (Part II). There the temple is neglected, and the words partly effaced, because the Britain of Doughty's day was un-patriotic. Here at the end of "The Dawn in Britain" is the highest moment of glory, when Patriotism and Religion for the first time are revealed hand in hand in the land of Britain. And that was long before Arthur's time. That is the reason why the Celtic period then is chosen. It is the earliest manifestation of the two sides of civilization, as Doughty always understands it - Patriotism and Religion. Both are important, both fundamental, and the two become one at the end of "The Dawn in Britain". The unity of the two ingredients is as important as the existence of both of them. Rambling or slip-shod or discursive or diffuse, Doughty's epic cannot be fully understood until the two sides, each by itself first, and then the two brought together, are given their full consideration. As is to be expected the makings of patriotism come first, and then Religion, and then gradually the two alternate and mix till that last symbolic act where they become one. But before we try to discuss each by itself, it is perhaps better to say a word about

(1) Even Joseph's legacy to his people is called "Lyber Bret" (P.685). 'Brett' was the term used in the 12th and 13th Centuries about the remnants of the Celtic tribes in Strathclyde and Cumbria.

(2)

Glastonbury. For Glastonbury is important in the Arthurian legends and the legendary history of Christianity in Britain. The legends about the early fathers tell of Joseph and his friends and their travels away from the Holy Land. They tell how in the year 63, when Peter and Paul were in Rome, undisturbed still by Nero, Philip, the Apostle to the Gauls, sent a group of Christian evangelists to carry the word of God to Britain. Among them it is said was Joseph of Arimathea and his son Josephes. Legends again tell how a miraculous wind brought them over to Britain where King Arviragus, though refusing baptism, granted them a refuge in the west marshes in the 'Isle of Glass' - (1) Glastonbury. Legends again tell how to cheer the brethren in the long cold days of winter, Joseph planted a thorn-tree, which blossoms there still every Christmas Day. A Church was built there for the Virgin Mary, which was said to have been built miraculously and not by the art of man. Later before his death he was said to have deposited the Holy Grail in an unknown place. Thus Glastonbury was called 'Roma Secunda'. A place which was perhaps a centre of pagan worship in the age of Druidism has thus become a centre of interest in the new Christian fold. When the Christian Arthur, King of Britain, fought against the pagan Anglo-Saxon races it was easy to link his name with that of Glastonbury. Glastonbury is the traditional burial-place of the legendary King Arthur. Thus throughout all the ages, and all the changes from Celtic ascendancy to Roman discipline, from pagan Druidism and pagan Roman polytheism to the new dawn of Christianity, Glastonbury remained the haven of faith and

(1) Said to be called thus by the Britons "Ynys-witrin" which means "Isle of Glass".

worship in early Britain. In it Britons and Saxons, Romans and Hebrews first learnt to live in peace together as the sons of one nation and the adherents of one faith. It is there that the common consciousness of the unified Britain was first found, and as Geoffrey Ashe says,(1) "the vision of the U.K. was born." Not only was Glastonbury a centre of Arthurian connections, but at the time when Doughty started to write "The Dawn in Britain" Glastonbury was again in the news. In 1892, Arthur Bullied unearthed two oaken beams and a dug out canoe near Meare Pool, near Glastonbury. This was taken as an indication of the existence there of the Celtic lake-villages, of a type known in Switzerland and elsewhere in the 3rd Century B.C., likes of which seem to be referred to in Caesar's book "Bello Gallico". Later excavations in Glastonbury proved the existence of two such lake-villages there - remnants of what is known among archaeologists as "La Tene Culture". There is no doubt that Doughty knew all that, because he uses it in the establishment of the small Christian Community at Avalon in the heart of the epic. But to escape the glare of common knowledge he used the name Avalon, mentioned in the 12th Century by Giraldus Cambrensis. But whatever was the name of it, Glastonbury or Avalon, there is little doubt that Doughty uses it cleverly as the focal centre in Britain for the new dawn and the new life. Because the country as we said is permanent in the flux of history, of race and civilization, Doughty's usage of central cities in Britain must be studied carefully. There are, for example, the cities of Traynovent, Camulodonum, Verulam or Isca Belgarum and each represents a step forward

(1) "King Arthur's Avalon: The Story of Glastonbury" by Geoffrey Ashe, 1957.

in the history of Britain. But from the Brennus period, when the non-existence of cities is one symbol of the non-existence of a seperate British personality, to the age of Cassiobellan and Caesar when cities begin to spring, and Britain is born as a Nation, to the age of Cunobelin and of Caratacus when the existence of Britain as a Nation and a country separate and different from the rest of Europe in general and the Celtic world in particular is shown in the emergence of Verulam and Camulodonum, to the age of Mona where the Celtic religion of Druidism had its centre, our poet gradually guides us to the emergence and the later domination of Avalon. Avalon is in Britain, and Avalon is a centre of Christianity, which will mould Britain into one unified nation, and inherit the legacies of Verulam, of Mona and of Troynovant. Avalon is the symbol of the wedding of patriotism and Christianity in the same way in which Pudens and Rosmerta are at the end of the Epic. Thus the past history of Celtic Britain is fused into the later history of Christian Britain. That union of antiquity with the Christian Spirit is of course not new. For it occurred as long ago as Petrarch, the father of Humanism. Erasmus, in turn, had the imaginative ideal of the world of antiquity inspired through and through with the light of Christian faith. But in Erasmus it meant that the classical heritage of Athens and Rome, of Homer, Socrates, Plato and Aristotle, of Cicero, Horace and Plutarch, would be complemented by the pure religion of Biblical Christianity. That certainly is at the back of Doughty's world, but in "The Dawn in Britain" it is more the simple vigour of Celtic Britain which is to be united with Christianity.

Doughty's method is very clear even in the division of his parts. From the very beginning he makes his plan clear. Lines (1 - 8) do not introduce the patriotic strain except perhaps the mention of Britain as the 'Muses' Isle' in the first line. What is predominant here is the religious theme, the 'new day-spring' (Line 1), 'Of Christ's Eternal Kingdom' (line 2). Then comes the method in which that religious theme will be brought in, the form of a journey by a group of foreigners from the East, bringing the new-light with them to Britain (lines 2 - 4). Then the one religion he has in mind is mentioned, the one born in Palestine to bring 'Peace' to the world (lines 5 - 8). That is the first more important strain. Then after a blank space follows the introduction of the second strain, the emergence of Britain as a Nation (lines 9 - 20). While in the first case the poet himself boldly asserts himself as the singer of the song in "I Chant new day-spring", here in the second strain it is 'Britain's Muse' (line 9) which is asked to record. The first is for the poet, <u>his own story</u> to tell; the second is history to be recorded or repeated after the Muse. The habitation of Britain by the Celts, the exploits of Brennus and his army on the Continent, and the turn of the tide from Rome which sent Caesar on his way to the shores of Britain, all the story from the start till the time when the personality of Britain as an individual Nation, will all be told within the frame, as it were between brackets, of the religious theme. Thus the last line in this introduction of the second strain (line 21) gives the expected end of this story by the return to the religious theme: "Where now, behold, yond saints of Christ arrive". Then characteristically the opening bracket is given in the

form of three six-forked stars. And then the story of the British Isles from the time they were uninhabited to the time when peace ruled after the Julian wars, the long centuries of the Gaulish ascendancy of Belin and Brennus, and the age of Roman endeavour under Caesar and the defence of Britain under Cassiobelan, all are told within the brackets. On page 162 (Book VI) in the middle of the book, the bracket is closed by the same three six-pronged stars across the page, and the main religious theme is resumed again, significantly after a new 'Invocation to the Muse' in the usual convention of epic invocations is repeated and the theme linking Canaan and Britain is repeated again. This long introductory part is, as earlier critics have noticed, deliberately subdued. Neither Belin nor Brennus II, nor Caesar nor Cassiobelan is allowed to soar epheroic living characters with which the reader would emotionally be involved. They are used as steps lading to the later more central characters of the climax of British patriotisms in the Celtic period, in the character of Caradoc. The love-story of Brennus and Fridia is not fully exploited because it is only a first example of later more important love-stories. Although Doughty's pride in Brennus, the British Celt leading all the Celts of Europe to conquer Rome, and his prejudice against Caesar and his Roman legions in their attacks on Britain, are not concealed, yet they cannot compare with the exultations of the poet in later British acts of valour, or the ridicule he heaps on Claudius. Doughty consciously suppresses emotion and controls his waysof expression, because he preperes for a greater picture on a wider canvas and reserves

his energy for the later heights.

This section is partly legend, partly historical. That the Gauls stormed Rome is a fact of history. That they were led by a 'Brennus' is also admitted. But the word 'Brennus' seems to have meant simply a 'leader' in their Celtic tongue, and we know nothing of the man, his origins, his character or his wife or son. The historic facts depend on authentic sources as Caesar's 'Bello Gallico', and on Tacitus' 'Agricola', and the relevant passages in his 'Germania'. Doughty has not left a stone unturned in his thorough search for his material. All the classical authors were scrutinized for any light they might shed on the subject. Even those books which give a fictional legendary beginning to British history were read. Gildas and Bede and Nennius and Geoffrey of Monmouth were not neglected, although it is clear that Doughty decided against the legends of the school of Bede. Unlike Milton in his 'History of Britain' Doughty does not even refer to the stories of 'Brut' as the original father of British history, and to the division of the land between his three sons, who gave their names to what were later to become England, Scotland, and Wales. With these early writers we must mention the history books written in the Tudor-Stuart period, with which Doughty was thoroughly familiar. I do not mean the literary works of the poets and writers, which he knew so well, but the books of history as such. Camden's 'Britannia' was used extensively (See Doughty's references in the 'Index' and Glossary'). Humphrey Lloyd (or as Doughty calls him Lhuid in the Glossary) was also used.

Another source of information for this part of 'The Dawn' is indeed the Welsh legends and the Welsh authors which Doughty seems to have used extensively. Not one particular book could be referred to in this case, nor in the case of Doughty's Irish sources. But when we come nearer Doughty's own time we discover that the latter part of the Nineteenth Century was full of researches into this history of Early Britain, and of excavations and findings from the Celtic period. Doughty, on a bicycle, is known to have toured all the sights of the events of his epic in Britain. He knew the most modern scientific opinions in the history of the period. Hogarth tells us that he consulted the famous John Rhys, the authority on ancient Britain and we take it that he must have read Rhys' books on "Celtic Britain" (1880) and "Studies in the Arthurian Legend" (1891). He must have listened to, or read James Parker's lecture to the Archeological Society [Proc. vol. 26 (1880)] on "Glastonbury: The Abbey Ruins". He must have consulted J.A. Giles' edition of Gildas', "Six Old English Chronicles: 1878" or his edition of Geoffrey's "History of the Ancient Britons: 1847". Perhaps he may have read Dr. Guest's "Origines Celticae" (1883) or T. Wright's "The Celt, the Roman and the Saxon" (1882). But the one book written at that age which was certainly used by Doughty was Charles Elton's "Origins of English History" (1882) a copy of which he owned, and on the margin of which there are notes in his own hand-writing. (1)

(1) The Notes are negligible - such as beside the Arabic word قصدير beside the word 'Cassiterides' - 'The Tin Islands'.

Historical sources cannot be easily separated from the literary sources. For this part of the Epic is a masterly summing up of the pre-Christian pagan spirit of Europe. That Europe could be generally divided into the German or Teutonic Division, the Scandinavian-Icelandic Division and the Gaulish-Celtic Division. The three divisions had their characteristics, and their legends and their religions and their literature. Doughty does not stress the subdivision and the separations between them. His aim is to treat them as the background from which the British Personality springs up at the beginning. When dissention creeps in, the friction starts not between the three components, but inside the main body, like one house divided upon itself. Doughty treats lightly the historical facts of the successive waves of invasion from Gaul to Britain (1) in which each new wave fought against, and pushed further the group of men which preced it. Although he recognizes the waves, as genuine history, he does not put them one against the other as fighting forces.

Sammoth is chosen by lot to lead the first wave, and Sarron is chosen to succeed him. Dissension starts not because other waves have come over but because there is no acknowleged leader among them - till Dunwallon is chosen later. Again after Dunwallon, trouble starts not because a wave of invasion has come over, but because Dunwallon's two sons were unable to agree with each other. The two sons' separation represents the main point of weakness in the armour of the fatherland in Doughty's philosophy of Patriotism, the echoes of which reverberate in his works until they become a roar in his 'Prophetic Books'. When the two sons

(1) See John Rhys on the Pre-Celtic invaders, the Goedels, the Brythons and the Belgae

after the intrusion of their mother Corwen, the first of Doughty's list of representatives of pure, sacred and gentle motherhood, Britain becomes for the first time the great unconquerable power which it could always be, whenever her sons are united.

Belinus and Brennus lead the Gaulish Nation to Victory and supremacy in Europe. In them we come to the threshold of recorded history. Before them all was legend; even the names of the Kings were not necessarily names of real men. From the hazy legends of ancient love, Camden and Humphrey Lloyd mention these names. Doughty lays his hands on them and uses them imaginatively as ancient British Kings. Historic accuracy was not and could not be his aim. The order he brings into the survey could not be but his own, and the discipline and arrangement were aesthetical and not historical necessities. Yet in going over the sources used by Doughty, one is astonished at the degree to which he sticks to the information provided there, historical or otherwise. In "The Imperial History of England" by Theophilus Camden, vol. I [London, 1611] we have in the Introductory chapter the two meanings of the word 'Britain' which were uppermost in Doughty's mind when he wrote his Epic; the first as Camden puts it was "that the word 'Britain' was derived from the Phoenician 'Baratanac', i.e. The Land Of Tin, (1) [Camden, vol. I, Page 5] The second was, as Camden again explains, that it was taken from Brithan, which signifies outer, because it was the farthest land known at that period. "[Camden, Pg 5]. The first title chosen by Doughty for his poem was exactly that - the "Utmost Isle". Again

(1) See [Book VIII (Page 221)] and Glossary, "Bur-ot-Tanac", in Semitic Speech, Tinland...".

Again Camdon's long description of the Gaulish mode of life in Britain at that early age is used fully.

One other remarkable example is Doughty's ropetition of 'blue' as an epithet for his Celtic warriors. That is an echo of Camden's words that their bodies were "stained of a sky-blue colour with the juice of wood." Again Camden comments upon their ferocity in battle and their contempt of danger and refers it to their belief in metempsychosis, (2) or transmigration of souls into other bodies, and goes on to describe their ways of fighting, their methods of attach, and their weapons. Again Camden speaks at large of the religion of the Celts, and the divisions of their druids, and the authority of these pagan priests, and their teachings. He quotes what Caesar and Diodorus Siculus and Pliny and Tacitus have written on that subject. But Doughty himself must have certainly read those authors and many others. That is why it is always inadvisable to single out one book or one author as his main source. That brings us to the list of Classical writings on 'Britain'.

In Elton's "Origin of English History", for example, we have the reference to 'Pytheas' the traveller who lived at the time of Aristotle and Alexander. Only fragments of his work have been preserved in different ancient authors, from which it seems that he was twice in Britain. Strabo refers to the abundance of corn in Kent, and to the local drink of a mixture of wheat

(2) Camden refers to the words of Pomponium Mela that Gauls were courageous because of their belief that "souls were immortal and that there is another life after the present." Doughty must have read Mela.

and honey. Another drink from barley is referred to in Atheaneus , Dioscorides and other Greek authors. In Evans' "Coins of the Ancient Britons" again we have a study of the coins which were found in the soil of Britain, starting from the earliest, made on Greek models, to the later finer developments. Doughty must have studied these fully.

The second Greek traveller who visited Britain was Posidonius, with whom Cicero is said to have studied at Rhodes, and who is thought to be the authority for the writings on the Celts of Britain by Diodurus Siculus. [Bibliotheca Historica, V, 21,22,] Posidonius is said to have visited Belerion', a place in Cornwall, where tin was mined. Tin in Cornwall was the first reason for the earliest contacts of Britain with Spain and beyond it with the Mediterranean World.

When we arrive, after a look at Greek sources, to the history of Rome, more links are naturally discovered. Here we have true dependable records of historical events. Yet because the earliest recorded history of Rome itself is half-mythical, the earliest points of contact between Britain and Rome were shrowded in the clouds of half-legend half-historical records. The fact that the Gauls invaded Rome itself in its early period, under the leadership of a Brennus is indeed a fact of history. (1). But that is all we know for fact. Around it a long story was woven which cannot be proved. Thus

(1) Read for example, the detailed story of the Gaulish-Roman war in Titus Livius, (Book V.)

Doughty was free to indulge his imaginative powers in the drawing of the characters of the first Brennus, and his brother Belinus and in getting him a German ally in Heremod, and a wife in Frieda.

The grouping of these characters is itself significant in that Doughty carefully brings together at that earliest period the components which later in history will mix together to make what for him is the British Nation of today. At a time when that confederacy was the most powerful in Europe, before the rise of Rome, and while the Greeks were extending their power in the Mediterranean and the Easterns World, the leaders of the confederacy are shown to come from Britain. The nominal head is King Belin, who bears the name of a Celtic God. The actual leader of the war is "Brennus" whose name simply meant 'leader' in their language. Heremod "a very old Teutonic divine name" (1) represents the German Teutonic elements which were later to dominate and dislodge the Celts from their ascendancy and mix with them in the later periods of British history. Freya emphasises the Germanic blood of Heremod, the reference to the pagan deities of the stock. Fridia recalls to the mind the world of the German Heroic poetry. Significantly she is "maiden prophetess" [Page 447].

When Brennus goes to Germany to wed Fridia, we are led into a world separate from that of Celtic Britain and Belin, to the world of the Teutonic tribes, where we meet Germanic tribes, and taste of their more primitive German life. Thus cleverly Doughty includes in this Celtic part of his work, the earlier

(1) Doughty's "Glossary" P. 690.

history of what was later to develop into the main stock inhabiting Britain - the Anglo-Saxon Race. The gathering of 'Brennus and Heremod and Fridia' becomes the symbol of the later gathering and welding of the races that make the British Nations of today. Even the word 'Angles' [See footnote, Page 547] is dragged in its German form Engles - to show the unmistakeable aim of Doughty.

No less important perhaps is the fact that this part of the Epic, in this short sojourn in Germany, points directly not only to the historical racial bland, but also to the common artistic bond. For as much as the Celtic h literary heritage lies at the back, there also lies the past legacy of the Germanic Race. To remember that Celtic Britain has its literature and legends in the wealth of imaginative works of Wales and Ireland is one necessity in understanding the background of the Brennus part. To remember that Germanic European literature and legend lies also at the back of it is another undeniable necessity. To the Gods of Celtic Britain are added the Gods of the German Nation.

Thus at the back of the Brennus part lies all the history and the legends an the literature of pagan Europe, most consciously and deliberately used by Doughty. The Northern Sagas, the Scandinavian and Icelandic Epic, the German and Anglo-Saxon lore is all deliberately evoked. Behind the apparent simplicity of "The Dawn in Britain" lies the most complex Epic influences you can imagine. I have no doubt that Doughty knew, and exploited, all the Epic literature of Europe and studied all the criticism on it. Behind the Brennus part lies the Epic Spirit, sometimes not altogether happily called "barbarous". Here we are not far from the world of

"Beowulf", where Martial glory is the most important human value. Like Attila and the other heroes of the German Epic stories, the heroes of this part, are adversaries of Rome and the Latin Race. The wars inside Europe, inside Gaul, or Germany, or Britain are forgotten or played down, and the wars of pagan Europe with Rome are played up - for the main aim of 'The Dawn in Britain' is to create gradually or depict the gradual emergence of the National Spirit: first among the Gauls in general and then among the Britons, Imagination is stirred by successive generations of heroic warrior characters until the feeling of patriotism, of pride in Race and country is born.

The Brennus part isthe first layer in that process: It is the expression of the early heroic ego. In the hall of Aella, Hermod's father, one imagines/s more refined Beowulf in the court of Hrothgar . It is the same brutal world, and the same natural frame. But it is somehow more sober and more disciplined. It is Aristocratic, magnificent in its way, not brilliant or sophisticated but heroic and a bit larger than life. It is not the modern court of intrigue and wit, but the older world of physical strength. The clash is not a clash of words or minds, but the battle of strong bodies and strong wills, and the difference between the victor and the vanquished, the heroic and the non-heroic, or between the leader and the led isthat the first can do the job of fighting better, and endure the hardships more than the rest. Their main pastime in peace is the minstrels' songs, and like the heroes of the classical Epic, the various athletic games. Book II in "The Dawn in Britain" is a wonderful reproduction of the heroic age.

But it is a reproduction with a difference. For Doughty's aim is different from that of the heroic Epic. It goes beyond it. In "Beowulf", in "The Story of Cynewulf and Cyneheard" in the English Chronicle, in the old Germanic narratives and the prose epic of Iceland "War and Fighting" are the core of the epic quality. The Songs of Minstrels do no more than emphasise that - either by describing battles, praising heroes or exhorting them. Love, when it comes, comes on the margin. It is there less even than a contrast to heighten the impact of fighting. In Doughty the Love theme is raised to balance the theme of battle. Although fighting is the main theme still, it holds the stage no more. The wars of Brennus in Italy and Spain are dominant, but marriage and love hold the key to the future (1) and to peace, though peace 'comes dropping slow'. If Doughty's aim was simply the old heroic theme of battle, he would have given it more space and more emphasis, and the epic would have centred around a 'warrior-hero' and a struggle. The hero would have been more commanding and more fully drawn than he is. Doughty wanted to begin with the heroic theme, and then let his epic grow larger and more complex until gradually the theme of war was enclosed and swallowed by more important themes in life. Nor did he want to stress the character of the hero or heroes, because his principal theme was larger and more important than any given hero or heroes. It included the heroes and grew out

(1) See Fairley for a full story of the gradual development of the love theme in the epic from Brennus and Fridia to Pudens-Rosmerta, and its significance in Doughty. The point will be discussed later.

of legend and history and successive lives and stories of different men. Consequently the one quality in this part of the epic is Doughty's wonderful sense of proportion which keeps everything under control and allows nothing to exceed its role, or go beyond the limits. When the first volume (Books I and II) were published and the critics began to tackle it, Doughty was furious because they should have waited until the work went apace before passing judgement.

Brennus II follows Brennus I and one's success is contrasted by the other's failure. When the Gauls came into contact with Rome under Brennus I, they were victorious, but when they came into contact with Greece they were defeated, and Brennus II committed suicide. But the first battle was a battle of men, and the stronger men of the North defeated the Romans who were later to dominate by military strength the whole known world. - As if Doughty says to us that the Gauls were the most powerful men on Earth. The second battle was not simply a war of men. In terms of fighting the Gauls <u>had indeed</u> defeated the Greeks, and the whole of Greece, even the part on the Asian Coast was under their feet. What they could not defeat was in fact the Superhuman elements in Greece. Brennus II was defeated by the Gods of Greece and the Gods of Gaul were of no avail to him. Thus the supremacy of the humen quality of Europe and Gaul and Britain is ascertained, but not the quality of its Gods - a clever preparation for the later suppression of the Gaulish gods when the Romans erase Rome, and when the sign of the Cross later still begins to dominate.

Thus the arrival of the Gaulish military tide, strong and

redoubtable in human terms to the lands nearest the Holy Land, where the new Religion and the God of all Gods is to appear, prepares us for the other important pillar on which his great epic is built: (Page 152) Christianity travelling from Palestine to Britain. But before that comes the cycle of Gaulish-Roman War recedes back to the North and this time the Romans are led by Julius Caesar whose two journeys across the Channel bring the war theme from the uncharted realm of pre-history to the definite world of historical fact. From now on Britain's history, though spasmodically so, is written. The main source is definitely that of Caesar himself - the 'Bello Gallico', but while Caesar the narrator is the great Roman leader looking at the uncouth and the unknown, Doughty proceeds from the wealth of the past history of the Gauls in Brennus and Horewod and speaks as the representative of a proud race attacked by an oppressor and a dictator. Thus the ships of the invading Romans are seen from the English coast, and not the coast from the ship. Caesar himself is given his due, but so are the stout fighters from Britain, so much so that the adulation of Tacitus for the barbarian fighters leaps to the mind. Caesar returns home and this long ebb and flow of British - Romish wars stop. Peace reigns in the world and meanwhile Christ is born in Palestine.

Christianity is born in the Holy Land among the Jewish people, and Doughty's reading in Jewish sources has already been commented upon, and later on in the chapter on the sources of "Adam Cast Forth" more light will be shed. Suffice it here to say that the Old Testament was

minutely studied, that the Talmud and the Midrash were well-known to him and the history of the Jews, from the earliest periods till the destruction of the Temple by Titus was well known to him. Among these Jewish history sources 'Josephus' stands out. Although the Jewish theme itself, as Jewish, stands in the background, Doughty seems to have realized - rightly - the importance of those events in the history of Christianity at large, and of the migration of Christianity from Palestine to the other lands, of which Britain was naturally the focus of his interest. Events like the destruction of the Temple, which occurs rather at the end of his epic, are still important, and the main source seems to be 'Josephus'. But the main thread here is indeed that of Christianity itself, though the bearers of it were of Jewish stock. Christianity is his new dawn, and its arrival in Britain, the basical theme of "The Dawn in Britain".

The sources for the birth of Christianity and the early events in Palestine, of the persecution of the new faith and its adherents, are too numerous to put on record. The New Testament was almost learnt by heart, and Doughty's knowledge of its contents was phenomenal. "Arabia Deserta" is full of it and even "Mansoul" is full of it. In "The Dawn in Britain" his knowledge of the Holy Book might not appear to the casual reader as deep and profound as it actually is. Let us give one or two examples, not about Jesus' birth, or Stephen's martyrdom, whose stories are well-known to all, but on the more obscure character of Joseph of Arimathea. What is historically known about him in general is that he buried Jesus - a fact recorded in all four Gospels. But

Mark (XV, 42-46) calls him 'an honourable councillor', who was awaiting for the Kingdom of God. Matthew makes him a rich man, and a disciple of Jesus, and the tomb his own private tomb. Luke makes him a member of the Sanhedrin. John says he was a <u>secret</u> disciple of Jesus. In a later tradition in what is called "the Gospel of Peter", Joseph, being Pilate's friend, arranged for the burial even before the Crucifixion. Look then at (Page 167) when Doughty introduces Joseph for the first time and you will notice that all these points recorded by these various sources are woven together in:

> Just man and honourable councillor:
> Who master being in Israel and rich lord,
> Believed on the Holy One of God;
> But secretly, and that for world's regard:
> Yet boldly, of unjust Semnite Pilate, asked
> He Jesus' body dead; . . . . . .
> . . . . . ; and he laid
> Him, in his own, ...
> . . . . . , new garden grave.

Joseph, he says, was, as part of the Jewish persecution of Christians expelled by the Jewish Elders from the 'Sanhedrin'. (Page 167). And to escape persecution Joseph and the Brethren start their travels - the journey which in time would bring the 'Dawn' to Britain.

This journey is what we have called the other pillar besides the Gaulish war effort, on which the epic is built. The story of Joseph of Arimathea's travel to Celtic Britain is of course unproven as a fact of history. As part of the popular lore of Christian Britain it had a prominant place, and Doughty's knowledge of lore and legend was no less profound than his knowledge of history. Of course the main source of the legend was William of Malmsbury's "De Antiquitatibus

Glastonensis Ecclesiae". But Doughty's poetical realization of the legend is one of his most felicitous endeavours. Most of those who did not like the Brennus part were quick to recognize the beauty of this part of the epic. Doughty the traveller revels in the description of a journey, and travel which is the 'book' in "Arabia Deserta", makes now an important part of the epic, and will be used in "Adam Cast Forth", in "The Clouds", in "The Titans" and in "Mansoul". Travel and journeys seem# to have become one natural means of expression into which Doughty's mind moulds its thoughts.

But 'the journey' was an old mould of human expression, which had a long history from the earliest journeys of emigration and conquest in prehistoric times to the Medieval 'journey or pilgrimage of the soul', and its Christian garb. Doughty's journey here seems to be the heir of all that. On one side, if Homerian Epic is divided into the whirlpool of battle in the Iliad, and the ever-moving fare-forward epicaresque travels of the "Odyssey", here we have Doughty's two Homerian sides brought together, the Brennus-Caradoc as his Iliad and the 'Joseph' journey as his 'Odyssey'. The first includes moments of peace and the quietness of love, marriage and domestic bliss, but hinges mainly on the turbulence of war, and on the military prowess of the strong wills of human leaders or heroes. The other includes turbulent moments of danger, but hinges mainly on the peace and tranquillity bestowed upon the human characters by a Superhuman Power. As much as Ithaca was the haven of Odysseus, Avalon was the haven of Joseph and his brethren. But we should not push the Brennus-Joseph comparison with the Iliad-

Odyssey world too far, although it is certainly there. The main difference lies in the different nature of the spiritual forces. Whereas Odysseus is still pagan, and is befriended or attacked by the different pagan gods of Greece, Joseph is always confident of his One God, and always calm and serene in his faith. There is in his world a certain blessedness of mood completely alien to the Odysseian world, and the inner struggle of doubt and hesitation has no place in his heart. All his troubles are and should be external, changes of weather, or rough seas or attacks of alien men or diseases. But the inner centre of the heart is, or should be, calm. How then could we account for the strange events in Book VII ? Fairley who goes far in apologizing for most of the weaknesses of Doughty's art, and who tends, more than anybody else, to excuse his defects, finds himself unable to stomach the strange world of the Abermaw Meeting (Book VII), where the pagan gods of Gaul howl and bark and are troubled on the advance of the adherents of the new creed towards the shores of Gaul.

If we try to explain it on historical or religious terms, of course we will fail. If we try to interpret it on naturalistic lines we are bound to fail. But if we try to understand the epic with an eye on the history of the Epic form, and its past productions, we come across the symptoms which Doughty seems to have been imitating and the conventions he was following. 'Epic poetry', says John Heath-Stubbs, 'in fact, is engendered at the point where History and Mythology meet'. And it is our tendency to read "The Dawn in Britain" in terms nearer to 'History' than to 'Mythology' which leads to the misunderstanding

or at least the inability to understand Book VII. Here Doughty is nearer Mythology than History. And there is no rule which says that the epic should only be historical. As Ezra Pound said an epic needs to be only "a poem containing history".That is true, of course, about the "Iliad" as it is true about the "Aenead" or the "Lusiad". When Doughty mixed History and Mythology and Legend he knew he was in good company among the best poets of the European epic tradition. In case critics might have missed the apparent point, Doughty, as nowhere else perhaps in his other works, makes clear the way he treads upon in his 'Post Illa' to the epic. It is not an introduction because the introduction introduces - builds as it were its arguments in the air - before the poem itself is unfolded. Doughty carefully writes his opinions down as a result, a ripe fruit of the epic just experienced. With Doughty the practice is much more important than the theory; the work itself is primary, and the argument secondary.

In Doughty's unique apologia, he makes clear where his line of thought, and ancestry in epic writing lies. First he cites Homer, as the father of European Epic. The qualification 'European' does not only reveal Doughty's usual awareness of the geographical distribution of human civilization, or his concern for <u>all</u> the known historical civilizations of the world, but also reveals his knowledge, at least superficially, of the existence of epic poetry among the ancient Egyptians, the "Asiatic" <u>or</u> in other words Mesopotamian, Persian, Indian and Chinese. He himself belongs of course to the European Epic. And there the father is 'Homeros', whose poetry "comes to our senses over the gulf of an hundred ages of man's life, matchless in form and absolute in all its members!" The Classical epic is thus decidedly at the background

of the first part of "The Dawn in Britain".

Then coming, as the process is always in Doughty, from the general to the particular, from the whole to the part, we trace the process of poetry in England. And in England Chaucer comes first. That Chaucer was no epic poet does not belittle his importance as the poet to kindle "the first bright beacon-lamp at the hearth of the divine Muses". Doughty does not totally agree to the poetry of Chaucer. Probably he does not agree to the humour, the levity of some of his vulgar characters. Yet these qualifications do not weaken his admiration of Chaucer's art. Chaucer's art in Doughty's opinion shows the two most essential sides necessary for any poetry which deserves the name. One is the "justness and directness, springing from an ingenuous disposition, and diligent searching out and observation of natural and human things...." The second is the "knowledge and meditation of the tongue." These, needless to say, are the two pillars on which Doughty's poetry is erected.

After Chaucer, Spenser inevitably follows. And for Doughty, Spenser is indeed <u>the</u> master "without spot or stain". That the language itself "began somewhat to decay","in his brief life-time" is no fault of Spenser's. Spenser is to Doughty spotless at least in subject-matter. One of the greatest differences between Doughty and his master is made clear, for the only time, here in this postscript. Rhyme was a very important essential basis of Spenserian art, but rhyme in Doughty is very very rare. Here Doughty calls it 'medieval rhyming' and agrees with Roger Ascham in calling it "a trapping of Barbarism". That is the only fault Doughty found in Spenser.

The mention by Doughty of Roger Ascham's opinion on medieval rhyming

tells us that he went deeply into a study of the technicalities of verse-making in that period of transition from the Middle Ages to the Renaissance. That is what borrowing an old technical word from Pythagoras, he calls 'the properties of numbers'. No man untaught to love his native language, and unversed in the art of versification can be a real poet. Thus Doughty stands for studying the best in the past and for following a tradition. Thus 'Romanticism' ~~is~~ confronted with the fruitful Homeric tradition, (which revived, from long living-death, in the classical Renaissance)" is derogatively called "self-spring bardism", which in the Nineteenth Century he says has "nearly run-out to the dregs, and unwholesome pools in the desert".

We have given rather a special and a rather long treatment of Doughty's 'Post Illa' to the "Dawn in Britain" because it is a rare case in which this ever-practical poet speaks and sets down what amounts to an apologia, a theoretical exposition of his opinions on the art of poetry - and it shows how the history of the European epic from Homer to the Renaissance lies squarely at the basis of "The Dawn in Britain", and justifies our attempts to show the influences of the different epic ways on the making of it. Thus we believe we are right in reading the world of the "Iliad" in the Brennus-Caracalus part, and in reading the "Odysseus" journey, mixed with the later Christian pilgrimage of the Medieval epic, in the journey of Joseph and his Christian friends, and in explaining the troubles and difficulties of Joseph and the brethren in the light of the Odyssean hardships. Not only does the brawl of the Celtic Gods remind us of Poseidon and his tricks, but the difficulties of the sea-journey itself, the storms and the winds remind us of Poseidon and the Aeolus winds. The story is not purely pagan like the Odysseus, but it resembles an encounter between their wierd half-demoniacal gods, howling and

barking on one side, and the calm serene reassuring aspect of God walking on the waters, and ordering the stormy seas to be calm. Indeed the calm serenity of Joseph and the Christian brethren is meant to show in revealing contrast against the stormy world of paganism. The process of War and Storms in the Brennus-Caractacus part in a Pagan Britain contrasts with and leads on to the peace and calmness of the Joseph-Rosmesta part in a Christian Britain. At the beginning it is all of it war, struggle, journeys and paganism. At the end the epic is peace, quietness and domesticity and love and Christianity. Between them lies the transitional period, where the epic rises to its climax in more than one important pinnacle - more than one summit in a range of mountains. Book VII is one of these where the contrast is shown in the confronting of Pagan Gods to the power of the New Faith. Inevitably, the upper hand here is that of Christianity. Another, possibly more important encounter shows in the story of Caractacus.

Caractacus is an admirable choice to come at the heart of "The Dawn in Britain". Doughty deliberately builds him up, but deliberately also leaves him short of the crown of being 'the hero' of the epic. To begin with, it did not suit his aim to have a hero for his epic. His first chosen title was "The Ultimate Isle" and his second chosen title was "The Dawn in Britain". In both the preoccupation with a country, and a religion, is dominant, and not the preoccupation with a character or characters. He was moreover aware of the fact that the majority of his compatriots of today, and he himself, were of a race and a blood which arrived later, and changed the structure and the personality of Britain, although as we made clear, he believed in the continuity of British history and Nationhood, he was too much aware of the difficulties to

make his main character the <u>one-and-all</u> representative of his nation. Caractacus is given as one stage, a very important stage, in the making-up of the people of Britain into a nation. From Brennus to Cassiobellan the process goes on and finds its first great efflorescence in Caractacus. Brennus was too much a European to be monopolized by British nationality. Cassiobellan and Cymboline were too vague to become the medium of the dramatic force of Doughty's imagination. He was not too famous in the world of literature as Shakespeare's Cymbeline (Cunobelin), and yet was not completely neglected. In Beaumont and Fletcher's "Bonduca", he figures as Caratach, the sagacious, patriotic soldier, a generous enemy and wise help to Bonduca. The play was acted and altered many times in the Seventeenth Century, till the title of one adaptation by J. Planché (1837) became "Caractacus". On the subject there is a play written in 1735 by Richard Glover, and another called "Caractacus" again by William Mason in 1759. Nearer Doughty's time William Cowper wrote a poem on Caractacus, and so did Lord Tennyson.

Caractacus thus was more than legendary, a historical character in his own right, but still not so well known or used in poetry as to make it difficult for the poet to use him freely. Of him he wanted, and did make an ideal representative of the best in British character, in the same way that Aeneas was made the ideal Roman, or Odysseus the ideal Greek. Between these two, Caradoc is indeed nearer to Odysseus than to Aeneas. Like Odysseus he goes beyond the frontiers of his own world, and like him he knows both the sweet taste of victory and the bitter taste of defeat. Above all, he is a human being. Although he

is given his due of idealism and nobility, he is never idolized as a super-man, a hero of heroes, like Aeneas or even Odysseus. Unlike them, he ends in defeat and dies in exile. While Odysseus to Homer and Aeneas to Virgil were all important, Caradoc was not meant to be in "The Dawn in Britain". Caradoc was indeed the symbol and the consummation of the advent of a British personality, but that symbol was destined to change and develop beyond what he stood for with the arrival of the new "Dawn", of which he was a witness, but not a participant.

When he holds the stage, Caradoc is indeed the heart and soul of the epic and in portraying him Doughty reaches the heights, higher indeed than anywhere else in his own poetry, and no less noble than the noblest epic poetry. This is more than an epic of war, for war poetry was given prominence in the Brennus part, and given intermittently afterwards, until we reach the heart of it in the battle of Camulodunum. It is after that battle that Caradoc occupies the stage unchallenged. He is still the Briton's war lord. But unlike any other main character before or after, he occupies the stage after a major national defeat. Hero or no hero, warrior or no warrior, defeat was bound to create a human situation fraught with humility if not humiliation. Caradoc is a human being. In the weakness of men the poet discovers a nobility more effective than in the ideal heroism and military glory of a victorious war lord. At every chance, even in the last humiliation in the presence of Caesar Claudius in Rome, Doughty never allows us to forget that Caradoc is the successor of the

nobility, valour and haughtiness of Brennus. Yet he also makes him more alive, more human, less granite-like, less monolithic than his shadowy ancestor. In the war itself he dislikes guerilla warfare, as an idealist, primitive though he be, is expected to do. In his consciousness of the burden of leadership, and his sorrow at the human losses in the long struggle, he is more a man than a national symbol. In his brooding over the defeat of his country, he becomes nearer than any characters in all Doughty's works to a man who has an inner throbbing heart, and a living conscience. In his famous outburst of madness, where he strikes at the trees in the wood in his craze and anger at Thorolf's death, he becomes the rare bird in Doughty's gallery of characters, a psychic case, certainly a product of Nineteenth Century thought.

Between the war effort of Caradoc (Book XII ff) & his last defeat and capture in Book XX, the stress is on the national struggle between Britain and Rome, and to the tumult of war, fighting everywhere and bloodshed and heroes killed or captured or in agonies of wounds or flight, there is every now and then a glimpse of the Christian haven of peace in Avalon, where Joseph and the Brethren feel the blessings of the Christian belief in Glory to God in the Highest, and Peace among men of goodwill on Earth. Gradually the instances of war & fighting recede, not suddenly, but slowly, and Peace begins to be mentioned more frequently, until it becomes the dominant topic. War is not banished completely as an evil work of the Devil. It is not destructive, but dissolvent, clearing the way, again gradually, for the shining of the new spirit.

Doughty is too conscious an artist to allow a feeling of suddenness in the dawn of the peace of Christianity or betray any symptoms of conscious change. Thus in this part of the epic there is much mixture and intermingling of his two main themes. Now we are with the victorious Romsn armies in their march in Britain. Now we are with the defeated British leaders in their distress. Now we are with Claudius and his contemptible little self, now with Caradoc in his magnificent heroic nobility. Now we turn to Joseph and his brethren whose nobility comes not from mere human heroism like Caradoc but from the pervading Christian Holy Spirit and whose humbleness is not the contemptible humility of a Coward like Claudius but the humility of man in relation to God.

Here indeed is the heart of the epic, where one cannot simply say that the old heroic Brennus line is pursued or that the Medieval pilgrimage epic line is pursued but feels a complexity of styles deliberately brought together in the fullness of Doughty's maturity. The richness of style and the sure mastery of character treatment and the variety herein meet the first manifestation of British nationhood and the expression of its personality in Caradoc. Caradoc is British as nobody else before him was. When he is fighting he fights for Britain. When he goes to Rome he goes first as the embassador of Britain and later as an exile whose heart remains at home. Patrictism has arrived. The next step was the advent of Christianity as the faith of Britons.

The advent of Joseph and the brethren to Avalon brought Christianity into Britain, but to bring Christianity into the hearts of the Britons was to be a gradual movement, and here in Caradoc's life-time it begins to work. The pagan world of Gaul and Britain in constant war with pagan Rome was destined to fall as Rome was to fall into the Christian fold. The long struggle in the pagan world could not just die out suddenly. So the high points in that conflict are stressed. They stand out as symbolic signs on the way. The flickering embers are here and there - and chief among them was the revolt of Boadicea. The defeat of the pre-Christian world could not be followed from land to land and from battle to battle, so the height of it is given in the destruction of Jewish Jerusalem by Titus, and the utter destruction of Mona, the heart of Druidism, by the mighty armies of Rome. The defeat of the pagan man could not be exmined in every heart so the best of it is symbolically given in the death of Caradoc. The great noble hero whose nobility at the beginning showed in his leadership and valour and prowess, died also no less nobly. This nobleness of his last days was no more in his fighting qualities. There was a serenity now about him and a humanity, one is tempted to say humility - as if the man has become Christian or about to be. Britain is now ready for the faith. And the faith is given to us positively at work changing men from the inside as well as from the outside in the story of Pudens and Rosmorta. "The Dawn in Britain" which was until now no different from the great military epics and the great epics of wanderings and travel in the ancient world comes now

to one of the most beautiful love-poems, an idyll which recalls Spenser's Epithalamion. The large masses of men in movement on the roads across countries or seas or continents and the huge armies in the bloody see-saw of war give way to a story of lyrical love.

Pudens was a Roman warrior, and in linking him with British elements Doughty brings in the Roman element for the first time into the mixture that is to make the future British Nation. Until this moment Romans were always fighting Britons, defeated in the Brennus period and victorious conquerors later on, but enemies all the time. Now under the banner of love and in the peace of Christienity Rome and Britain are to be reconciled. Rosmerta has her beginnings in Celtic (Welsh) legends and her end in Christian Medieval traditions. From Wales her Celtic parents came, but the war had orphaned her and she became the ward of Joseph, the saint of Avalon. There she became the flower of the Christian fold, and Pudens saw her and instantly fell in love with her. Thus Rome and Britain and Christienity are brought to play their parts in this love story, and when they were married and went to live in Rome, the British maid was given the Roman name of Claudia. Claudia is a name that comes in St. Paul's Second Epistle to Timothy, and the medieval commentators maintained she was British. Celtic Mythology and Doughty's own invention are brought to bear on Christian sources in an idyllic love-story.

But love is of many kinds, and the process of treating love in "The Dawn in Britain" is no less subtle than the process of treating the gradual transformation of a nation. Even the terse heroic age of

Brennus knew the human happiness of love. But Brennus was a Hero and Fridia was a Prophetess, and the 'love' between them is steeped in the pegan world of war, magic, and pegan prophecy. Even the great national leader in Caradoc felt love, but the 'love' of Carectacus and Embla though humen was subdued by the rigours of a terrible national struggle and dwarfed by national disaster. The negative side of that emotion was also known, for the early parts of the epic are full of examples of self-assertion, of pride, of hatred and treachery, among men (e.g. as well as women (e.g. Cartismandua). The wrong kind of love is also treated, for lust is exposed in the infamous life of Claudius Cesser's Empress, and love of conquest and worldly power is shown in the continuous machinations of Rome. Love which is higher, the love of God and Man is also shown - in the long story of Joseph and the Brethren.

But the love of Pudens and Rosmerta is the culmination of all that. It differs in kind from the Roman love of power or wealth. It differs in degree from the love of Brennus and Fridia, or Caradoc and Embla, in that theirs was exclusively on the lower human sphere. Theirs was love on earth and not love in God. It differs from the love of Joseph for humanity in that this was not abstract spiritual love only. This was love, as it should be, in this world, pure and beautiful, carnal and spiritual, involving man and woman in a bond which is made in the name of Christ - this was the ideal of 'Love' in Doughty's thought, equivalent, in a personal level, with his own love-story and marriage.

Love, in the Pudens-Rosmerta episode, is in one way pure Christian love, but in another it is bound with the study of thought in Elizabethan England. Doughty, as we have shown, has followed, studying its growth minutely, the development of the language, literature and thought of his country from the earliest classical times, through the dark and middle Ages to the dawn of knowledge and civilization in the Renaissance. In terms of poetry one would say he studied it from Caedmon and Laymon to Chaucer and Lydgate and at last to Spenser. In terms of thought, you have the life of primitive action and the gradual awakening of the spirit of man in the later Middle Ages, the new thirst for knowledge in Erasmus and Scaliger and their time, the new classical revival which led to Humanism and the Renaissance. Spenser is the supreme representative in the field of poetry. In the field of thought the Seventeenth Century Cambridge Platonists were like Spenser before and Doughty later, opposed on one side to the narrow dogmatism of Puritans and on the other side to the narrow materialistic trends of thought in Hobbes and the like. It is not more coincidence that Doughty makes Pudens [redacted] hear a voice:

> "Saying, 'Like that Word, whereof ere Plato writ,
> Christ of Alfather of the world is Breath' "
> (Book XXII, Page 629)

and later makes him think of:

> "Was Plato's Word, ...
> And clothed her <u>idea</u>, with flesh of babe;"
> (Book XXIII, Page 631)

Nor is it coincidence when Cuan, the bard:

> "'Love is', he sings 'the livery of Christ' "
> (Book XXIII, Page 741)

For both are part of Doughty's scheme. 'Love' is the shadow of the Platonic Ideal, and 'Love' is also the message of Christianity. (1)

Thus Platonism & Christianity are expressed in a purely Spenserian idyll. The world of the poem is no longer the early military glorious exploits of Brennus, or the later no less noble days of patriotism in Caradoc, but the days of the new happiness which Britain is destined to have in the future.

As the poet Spenser must have thought before the writing of his "Shepherd's Calendar" when every inner growth was completed and the outer world around him, and the inner world within him, were ripe and hushed waiting for the expected revelation, so Doughty must have felt. That is why "The Dawn in Britain" is said to be conceived with the eyes of Spenser. It is no imitation of the Spenserian stanza or the Spenserian Allegory, but the borrowing of Spenser's eyes to see the hope of the present and the vision of tomorrow.

Joseph is shown the facts of the day and the vision of the future. For the picture of Christian Britain is the brightest in all the world, now that Jerusalem has fallen and Rome has become the scourge of Christians, and the only place wherein there is a relic of Christ is Avalon. The first drop of this blessed rain is the marriage of Pudens and Rosmerta:

> and signifies Christ's Spirit,
> The first fruits this should be of Britain's peace!
> (Book XVIII, Page 634)

Love and Peace in Christ have brought not only the blessed

(1) See the last lines in Doughty's last message in "Mansoul".

marriage of a young couple, but the unity of the races which are to make the future greatness of the British Race. Rome was not victorious over Britain, it was vanquished, not by the sword, but by love:

> Britain's Cynthia wedded Romrn Knight;
> Today, a Gaulish maide hath vanquished Rome!"
> (Book XXIII, Page 644).

But more important perhaps is the simple fact that Love, Peace, and Christianity have reached the hearts of British people. The threads of the epic are all knotted together and brought to the end in an idyllic note, which as Fairley says, that of Spenser's poetry and Spenser's England. Thus the pagan legendary past in Brennus and Hermod, and the nearer historical past in Caractacus and Claudius, all gradually fused into the main line of British History. Thus the age of pagan wars and incessant battles is brought into an era of peace and tranquillity. Thus the migrations of hordes in the early ages yields to the peaceful settlements of Christian Britain, and the uncertainty of family life is transformed into the happiness of loving parents and beloved sons and daughters. Thus the common pooling of all spirits is changed into the throbbing individual conscience of the new age. Thus mythology and legend and history and certain human knowledge come to rest in the fuller knowledge of Christianity. Thus patriotism and religion become the twin columns of the new Britain. "The whole world", says W.P. Ker, "is included in epic poetry".

CHAPTER XVI

"Adam Cast Forth": The Sources.

All that the source-hunting commentators of Doughty were able to show in the case of "Adam Cast Forth", is given by Doughty himself in the few words introducing the poem. In these words Doughty calls the legend Judeo-Arabian, and draws in sharp lines the bare skeleton of the beautiful Semitic legend(1). But how and where exactly did Doughty get hold of that story, and what changes did go into it until it became the lovely idyll, that we have in our hands? To call it as Doughty does, 'Judeo-Arabian', and leave it there will not do, because it is so general, so diffused a term that it needs clarification itself, and its clarifications will in all probability lead us to Doughty's sources. Everybody would say that Doughty has been in Arabia, and though, because of his Christianity, he was never allowed, nor did he ever try, to visit the Islamic Holy Places in Mecka and around, he must have heard of the 'Mountain'(2) of Arafat which plays a central part in the rituals of the Moslem Haj, and on which the legend in its Arabian Islamic manifestation is centred. The name of the place is so linked with the legend, that it was unlikely for the curious English traveller not to have heard of the story. The verb "'Arafa" means "To know", and this is the place where Adam and Eve met and 'knew' each other after their long separation on Earth after the Fall. This is the place where Adam and Eve, and later on Abraham and Ishmael 'knew' and 'admitted' the power and forgiveness of God. This is also where Moslems from all over the world would gather in pilgrimage 'to recognize'

(1) "Adam Cast Forth": See Doughty's 'Introductory Note'.

(2) The word in Arabic is wider in meaning than the English word. 'Djabal' might mean either 'mountain' or 'hill' or only 'desert and wilderness' in contradistinction to the inhabited plains. 'Arafat' would hardly count as 'mountain' in English. The 'mountain' or 'hill' near it is 'Abu Qabus'.

the bounty of God, and meet and 'know' their brethren from other lands. One of its connotations, the word "Urf", means 'perfume' or 'good smell' which is said to be linked with the 'perfumed' smell of Adam carried over from Eden to the arid Earth ("Adam Cast Forth": page 83 "Mountain of His Francinsence" and page 93). Because this was the first place on Earth in which Man 'recognized' God's power and worshipped Him, it became the first and holiest place in pre-historic Arabia.(1) Arab legends add to this the later story of Abraham and Ishmael. Ishmael, the reputed father of the Arab tribes and not his brother Isaac, was here the hero of the incident of the sacrifice. He was rescued by the Angel and a sheep was slain instead, and in recognition Abraham and Ishmael started to build there and then, the 'House of God'.(2) This is the 'Kaaba' which is the centre of Islamic worship, and towards which all Moslems direct their faces five times a day in prayer(3), and to which all Moslems who can are requested to go on pilgrimage(4). The Quran does not relate all these details of the story, but legends add to it until it becomes what it is, a series of stories of worship

(1) The Quran: Sura III (Al'Imran): "Indeed the first House erected is that which is in Becka(Mecka) eternally blessed and a guidance for all."

(2) The Quran: Sura II (Al-Baqarah): "And when Abraham and Ishmael with him raised up the foundations of the House: 'O Lord receive this from us; Thou art the All-hearing, the All-knowing'".

(3) The Quran: Sura II (Al-Baqarah): "So turn they face towards the Holy Mosque; and wherever you are turn your faces towards it." And again: "From whatever place thou issuest, turn thy face towards the Holy Mosque."

(4) The Quran: Sura XXII (Al-Hajj) where God says to Abraham, "And proclaim among the people the Pilgrimage; and they shall come to thee on foot, and every lean beast, ..."

and recognition of God, centred on or near the Kaaba, the oldest house of God, built on Earth, and for His Glory. Doughty must have known parts of its earlier half, and its later sequel, while he was still in Arabia, if not before even entering into the desert, while he was preparing himself for the journey with the Haj, which is itself a part of the living aura of that lively legend. Even if we suppose that he knew it not, then the fact that his journey ended in "Jidda" is significant, for it is in "Jidda" that Eve was said to have come down on Earth, just after the Fall and her separation from her husband. Eve's tomb was supposed to be in "Jidda" and was shown to all visitors, either Moslems on their way to and from Mecka or Non-Moslems passing by. This could in all probability be the beginning of Doughty's interest in this lovely story of our parents(1). Doughty was not free then to start on the poem and write it down. The 'Arabia Deserta' volumes were to occupy his efforts for many a year, and the great national epic which was the primary concern of his indefatiguable mind occupied all his years after that. When "The Dawn in Britain" was published he was at last free to do as he pleased. The Herculean task of showing the Victorians that great prose could still be written in an English more vigorous and more manly than theirs was happily executed, and the greater, more exacting task of singing the earlier glories of his country and race was also conscientiously performed and Doughty was, therefore, in the happiest of moods. What he would write would certainly be a happier poem than the early products of his mind. All the writers on "Adam Cast Forth" have noticed that, but there is more to it than that, for between Arabia and the publication of the "Travels"

(1) In "Arabia Deserta" (II, P.539) Doughty tells of the fabled grave of Hawwa at Jidda and comments: "Such is the vanity of their religion! - which can only stand by the suspension of the human understanding". But in "Adam Cast Forth" he seems to have changed his mind about the beauty of the legend.

and "Dawn in Britain" Doughty got married, and for the first time in his life, the orphan child, the unhappy youth, and the weary traveller, found for himself a haven. Doughty's personal happiness in marriage was to become one of the most important factors in his life and works. The critics have found a link between Doughty's wanderings in Arabia, and the tribulation of Adam and Eve on their way to their permanent abode,(1) but the other personal factor which plays no less a part in "Adam Cast Forth" is the great 'oneness', the indissoluble love that binds Adam and Adaïma, and makes their love so solid, and their hardships so ineffectual, and this surely reflects Doughty's love of his wife, and the harmony of his home and the happiness of his marriage. "Adam Cast Forth" is Doughty's "Epithalmion and Prothalamion". That is why Doughty was emotionally ready for the lovely story of the World's first married couple. To tackle it must have been for him a happy endeavour, for here was the frame, the objective universal story, in which his own personal emotions would be idealized and universalized. Doughty, as we have already shown, was never a hasty spontaneous writer of abundant overflowing poetry. Each of his poems meant for him a long period of preparation, of deliberate systematic accumulation of facts, of the conscious organization of the parts and the careful execution of the whole. And if we are to understand his work fully, we must, in a way, undo what he has done, and trace back his steps to his earliest efforts of collecting and sifting and rearranging his subject matter. What reason have we, to begin with, for this certainty of the diversity of his sources and the complexity of the process of creating "Adam Cast Forth"? Is it not possible to take it simply as

(1) See, for example, Professor Barker Fairley: Chapter on "Adam Cast Forth".

a beautiful Semitic legend, of Judeo-Arabian origin, which Doughty liked and put in English verse? First of all we know that Doughty never takes the shortest cut and easiest way to solve his problems. Secondly, the term "Judeo-Arabian" is ambiguous and therefore misleading, and any slight effort to unravel it, would show its ambiguity. Thirdly, because there are in the poem, as given to us by Doughty, certain noticeable elements, which though true to the story as Doughty tells it, are nevertheless alien to the legend in its diverse sources. It is true that the legend is not only an Arabian legend, but also a Judean Hebraic legend. In both versions Adam and Eve are the protagonists. In both they are cast out of the Garden, and suffer long periods of punishment from God, and of suffering and penitence on their part. In both God at last forgives them, and decrees their meeting together and their future happiness. In both they meet after a long period of arduous travel and start life together again. But there the similarity ends. For you could not expect the Hebraic legend to choose Mecca's Holy Mountain as their meeting place. Nor would the Hebrews choose Jidda as Eve's first abode on Earth. For them the meeting place would logically be somewhere in their promised land, preferably near its heart in Jerusalem near their Holy Temple of God. Consequently Adam's first abode would be somewhere near Damascus in most of their legends. Thus the two versions of the legend diverge, and 'Judeo-Arabian' comes to mean that the skeleton of the story and its bare outlines are one and the same. It does not mean that the story as we have it in "Adam Cast Forth" goes back in its present version to any one unified and particular version of the legend. Doughty took the bones, and clothed them with flesh, which he was free to choose in his usual way, now from this version and now

from that, and now and then to invent something new from his own powerful imagination. It is indeed true that "Adam Cast Forth" shows the predominance of the Arabian version, but it is not in any way followed blindly. Nor did we expect Doughty to follow it blindly. On the first page of the poem it strikes us in the eye, for Satan in his monologue introduces an un-Islamic point. Satan is relating the story of Creation, of his disobedience, and of the creation of Adam and Eve. Adam is shown to have been created to fill the gap left by Satan and his rebellious host when they were exiled from heaven(1). This is decidedly not Islamic. In Islam God created Adam before the fall of the Angels, in his likeness,(2) and asked the Angels to bow to him(3). All did except Satan(4), because, he said, he was created of fire and light, while Adam was made of clay, and as such he was of a better and nobler nature(5). That was the

(1) "Adam Cast Forth": Page 1.

(2) The Quran: Sura II (Al-Baqarah) "And when the Lord said to the Angels, 'I am setting in the earth a viceroy'."

(3) The Quran: Sura VII (Al-'Araf) "then We said to the Angels: 'Bow yourselves to Adam'; so they bowed, except Iblis, . . ." and "Said He, 'what prevented thee from bowing, when I commanded thee?'; he said, "I am better than he; Thou createdst me of fire, and him Thou createdst of clay'.

(4) The Quran: Sura II (Al-Baqarah): "And when We said to the Angels, 'Bow to Adam', so they bowed, except Iblis; he refused, and showed pride, and thus was an unbeliever."

(5) The Quran: Sura XV (Al Hejr) "Surely We created man of a clay of mud moulded, and the jinn created we of fire flaming," and later "When I have shaped him, and breathed My spirit in him, fall you down, bowing before him!" Then the Angels fell down before him, except Iblis: he refused . . ." and "Said he 'I would never bow myself before a mortal whom Thou hast created of a clay of mud moulded.' Said He, "Then go thou forth hence; thou art accursed. Upon thee shall rest the curse, till the Day of Doom."

reason, in Islam, for Satan's fall, while in Doughty's poem Satan is the angry bullying rebel even before Adam was created. Take another example of Doughty's freedom to choose. In "Adam Cast Forth", Adam and Eve are the two protagonists in a long list of "Dramatis Personae", in which no other character looms larger than the "Chorus" and than "Ezriel". Now the 'Chorus' is hardly a Semitic device, and its introduction into a Semitic legend clearly shows the free hand of Doughty the artist at work. But 'Ezrail' is surely a member of the Semitic gallery of Angels. In Islamic Mythology, Ezrail is, as his name denotes in its Hebraic origin, a helper of God, but his work here is to help Him as His chosen executioner: Ezrail, or 'Azrail in Arabic, is the Angel of Death! Doughty's source here is certainly Hebraic, for he uses Ezrail as God's helper in guiding Man in his life, and as His Voice all through the poem. If his sources were always Arabian, the story would have had, not Ezrail, but Gabriel, the Archangel. Gabriel reigns supreme in the Islamic House of Angels(1). He is God's Voice, and His Messenger to his prophets, and as such the transmitter of the Holy Quran to the Prophet. Gabriel, or in Arabic Jabra'il or Jibril, would have been the Voice in an Arabian poem. And Doughty knew it for sure, for the sources he used put Gabriel in the place where he has used Ezriel. The change is deliberate and free. A third example, if any more examples were needed, is Doughty's

(1) The Quran: Sura II (Al-Baqarah) "Say whosoever is an enemy to Gabriel? He it was that brought it down upon thy heart, by the leave of God, . . "

See Sura IXVI (Al Tahreem) Verse (3) also.

decision to make Adam and Eve both farmers in Eden before the Fall, which is to say the least unoriental. Eden is perfect happiness, and perfect happiness in the East does not include work or toil! Other points of departure will be raised later on, but it is clear beyond doubt that Doughty's poem is no clear and direct rendering of a story every part of which was already there. Doughty's efforts in welding, gathering, sifting and rearranging are no less in the way of subject-matter than they are in the way of style.

Now in the manuscript Notes on 'Adam Cast Forth', Doughty copies the following passage from Sale's 'Al Koran': "Cast down from Paradise A(dam) fell on the isle of Ceylon and Eve near Jiddah: and that after a separation of 200 years A(dam) was conducted by Gabriel to a mountain near Mecca where he found and knew his wife. The mountain was thence named Arafat. He retired with her to Ceylon." In a footnote (f) on Page 5 of Sale's Translation called 'Al Koran', the above words occur, and Sale thus becomes our first clue to the sources of "Adam Cast Forth". But Sale refers the reader at the end of that passage to d'Herbelot's "Bibliotheque Orientale" Page 55 and it seems probable that Doughty followed the reference to d'Herbelot, and read the abundant mythological and legendary material that d'Herbelot had collected in his pages from the various Arab authors and their books without any theological or intellectual discrimination. It was neither possible, nor necessary, nor Doughty-like, for Doughty to accept all that d'Herbelot's pages offer. He must have pondered over all the details, chosen some and discarded some and gone back to some at least of the authors cited by d'Herbelot. He would not, for example, care for d'Herbelot's reference to "Termedi's traditions from Abou-Mousa-al-Aschari" or his reference to Thaalebi's "Nafais Al

Arais" but he must have verified and studied carefully in Sale and in other translations, d'Herbelot's reference to the verses of the Quran in Sura VII (Al'Araf) on the story of Creation and the Fall of Adam and Eve[1]. Even such seemingly unimportant bits of information like d'Herbelot's reference to the author of "Medarec" as saying that Satan swore twice to have his revenge of God on Man[2], must have been carefully marked by Doughty, for that exactly is what his Satan does at the beginning of "Adam Cast Forth"[3]. Or d'Herbelot's explanation on page 56, "that a day in Paradise is equal to a thousand years of ours", or d'Herbelot's words on the meaning of the name of Adam's first-born on Earth in Islamic Mythology - Abi-El-Hareth, "qui signifie, a la lettre, serviteur ou fils d'un Jardinier, ou d'un Laboureur, a cause qu'Adam fut le premier qui cultiva la terre", all must have been studied in the meticulous Doughtyesque way. But the most important contribution of d'Herbelot must have been the names of the Arab authors, which he gave as sources for his material, for Doughty's following step must have been to consult these, and these authors are the real source of the Arabian side of the legend in "Adam Cast Forth".

Almost all the Arab historians begin their histories at the beginning of Creation and carry on almost to their day, and because History was yet unscientifically written, the most respectable historians would indulge their fancies in collecting what to us would

(1) D'Herbelot's "Bibliotheque Orientale" page 54.
(2) Ibid: Page 55.
(3) "Adam Cast Forth": Pages 1-5.

simply be, not history, but legends. Each historian would follow the other, repeating, reiterating and sometimes adding to what his predecessors had brought into their books. These generalizations might not be strictly true about the events and the historical developments of the days nearer the time in which each author was living, but they are certainly true about the earlier pre-historic periods, and more so when it concerns the dim legendary stories about our first parents, Adam and Eve. Thus to read one source is to read almost all, for all are alike. But the earliest Arab historians were not pure historians. Their first task was to write the history of the Prophet of Islam. These were the 'Sira' writers, like Ibn Ishaq, Ibn Hisham, Al-Waqidy, Ibn Saad, and the greatest of them, Muhammad Ibn Jarir Al-Tabary. But even they would repeat the story of Creation, and the legends about Adam and Eve, for that was the beginning of all life, including the life of the Messenger of God. But there is nothing to show that Doughty used these authors, except perhaps the most famous of them all, Ibn Jarir Al-Tabary (d.310 A.H. = 922 A.D.). It is possible that Doughty might have known Tabary's 'Annals', at least in translation. For Doughty was indeed lucky in this, that his journey into Arabia and the subsequent knowledge of the contemporary Arab had earned him the recognition and the friendship of many of the great Orientalists of his day, especially on the Continent. Hogarth was an Orientalist, but his main interest was archaeology, and later on politics. Lawrence was younger than either Doughty or Hogarth, and his preoccupation with war and politics excluded him, as it did Hogarth, from being one of the inner circle of the few great Orientalists of the day. But Doughty became the

friend of at least two of the great Continental pillars of Orientalism: Aloys Sprenger, the German, and De Goeje, the Dutch. The first continued for a long time an admirer, a friend and a confidant of Doughty[1], and the latter helped him with the glossary of the Arabic words used in "Travels in Arabia Deserta". Now both Sprenger and De Goeje were very active in editing, translating and publishing in Europe, a great many of the treasures of Arabian and Islamic learning. Their tremendous efforts throughout the middle and late years of the Nineteenth Century made it possible for the reading public in Europe to read these great Arab authors in one or other of the modern languages of Western Europe. De Goeje, for example, translated and published the great above-mentioned "Annals of Tabary", and through his translation, Tabary possibly became one of the sources of "Adam Cast Forth". Another great source of the legend, other than the Sira writers, is what might be termed the work of the pure historians, those whose main interest was not the story of the Prophet, but the history of events and peoples up to their times, and the likeliest of them to deserve to be mentioned is Kassoudi. His qualifications for being mentioned first include the fact that he is possibly, at least in the opinion of some scholars like Sprenger, "the Herodotus of the Arab historians,"[2] and the significant fact that his translator was Doughty's greatest friend among the Orientalists, Aloys Sprenger. Kassoudi sums up the various versions of the Islamic legend of 'Adam and Eve', and to read

(1) See Sprenger's correspondence with Doughty in Hogarth: Page 97.

(2) El-Mas'ūdi's "Historical Encyclopaedia", entitled "Meadows of Gold and Mines of Gems". Translated from the Arabic by Aloys Sprenger: London, 1841: Page IX (Preface)

him is enough to know almost all that the 'pure' historians of the Arabs would give us about it. But besides the Sīra writers, the 'pure' historians, there is the third very important Arabian source of the legend, and that is the work of the Arab travellers. Although Doughty nowhere refers to any one of them by name, it is probable that in the preparation of his own travel book on the land of the Arabs, this great European traveller of the nineteenth century, might have known at least some of these great travellers of the Middle Ages. In 'Arabia Deserta' he refers to the old Arab geographers, of whom he must have read in 'Von Kremer', and it is not wrong to suppose that the differentiation between travel books and pure geography books, which was not strictly observed at the beginning in Arab writings, was not strictly observed in the term as used by Doughty. Thus the famous Arab travellers like Ibn Jubayr and Ibn Battuta, were in all probability known to Doughty. It is signifidant that here also we have these most important Arab travellers given in translations into European languages by Doughty's eminent scholar friends. Thus all were put at easy reach of Doughty's hand in the various European libraries, in the languages in which he felt at home.

Now there are instances of internal evidence in "Adam Cast Forth" to show that Doughty must have used some of these Islamic sources for the general background of his poem. First and foremost is Masoudi, one of whose books was edited and published by De Goeje, and whose great compendium entitled "Meadows of Gold and Mines of Gems" was translated from Arabic into English by Doughty's friend Aloys Sprenger,

and published in London. In a footnote on pages 58-59, Sprenger explains the name Eve or Hawwa thus, "Ibn Shohna (Universal History MS of the Asiatic Society of Paris) believes the name Hawwa حوّا to be derived from ح 'living', for he says she was created from something living. But it is evident that the name of Eve ought to be written هواء Hawa which means 'air'." Now modern Hebrew has no ح, and so confusion might follow between the letters ح and ه, the first letters in the two words حواء and هواء respectively. In Arabic the distinction is clear and no confusion between the two letters is therefore possible. No native Arabic speaker would confuse هواء which means 'air' with حواء which means 'Eve', because to him the two words begin with two completely different consonants. Yet the ح Ḥ is one of the most difficult consonants for a European to utter and many a great scholar would fall into confusing it with the nearest letter in his alphabet which is 'H', or ه in Arabic. That I am afraid is exactly what happened to Sprenger, and he was led to it, great and scrupulous as he was, by the fantastic mythological interpretation he gives to the act of Creation in ancient Semitic sources as a marriage between 'earth' and 'air' or 'Adam' and 'Eve', and which he expounds in this introduction to his great translation of Massoudi. Now Sprenger's interpretation does not seem to have any effect on Doughty's legend, and therefore does not concern us here, but the mistake Sprenger makes in the above-quoted passage is almost literally followed by Doughty in the footnote in "Adam Cast Forth", explaining the derivation of the name 'Eve', for he adds the verb "to breathe" which is the natural link between 'living' and 'air'. Now the interpretations the name Hawwa could bear in Arabic, come either from

the word حية 'living' because she is a living being and was issued from a living being, or from the word حوى 'to contain' because she contained all life in her womb, and was the mother of all living. Doughty cleverly takes the first part of the meaning for granted, inserting the idea of Eve as living and as the product of a living being, in his story, while suppressing the name and using 'Adama' instead. Later on he uses the second part of the meaning of the name Hawwa as the pivot for the change in the story and as the reason for the change of her name. The name he uses at first, 'Adama', exists today but it is rarely used. Philologically 'Adama' is the right feminine gender to the masculine 'Adam'. But in Islamic lore she was never called 'Adama'. She was always Hawwa, because from the beginning she was ordained to spring from the living, and be herself living, and give birth to the living. The usage of 'Adama' for her was a Doughty innovation, and a very successful one because at the beginning it linked her in an indissoluble way with 'Adam', even in name, and at the end, it thrust forward the new fact of her becoming the mother of humanity. Doughty was not mistaken there, but his reference 'to breathe' and Sprenger's 'air' is one of these mistakes, to be welcomed rather than deplored because it shows that Doughty must have used Sprenger's edition of Massoudi as one of his sources. That is the first internal evidence. The other internal evidence is significant, but not as decidedly conclusive as the first, and it links "Adam Cast Forth" with 'Ibn Tubayr's Travels'. Now Ibn Tubayr was edited by Professor William Wright, one of the syndics of the Cambridge University Press, with whom Doughty came in contact on the occasion of the printing and publication of 'Arabia Deserta'. William Wright edited it in Leyden in the eighteen

fifties, and Professor De Goeje, Doughty's helper in the glossary of his great book, edited its second edition and published it in Leyden in 1907. Doughty could have known Ibn Jubayr there, but more probably he might have used not De Goeje's edition, for here the text was still in Arabic, but the Italian translation of it by Professor Schiaparelli which was published before that. Now Ibn Jubayr in his version of the legend, speaks about 'Arafat' the 'Mountain of Recognition' but he also speaks about Mecca's Mountain of "Abu Qubays" and calls it 'the Mountain of Mercy'(1) (Ibn Jubayr: Page 104). Doughty does the same. On their way Adam and Adama look at a 'Mountain' as their lodestar, in the wilderness, like Khalil's mountain 'Ajja' in the Arabian wilderness(2). The weary travellers' heart is strengthened when they see that 'three-headed beacon Mount' ('Adam Cast Forth', page 56) which is to them 'the father's waymark' ('Adam Cast Forth', page 3). Doughty calls that mountain, the 'Mountain of Mercy' ('Adam Cast Forth', page), the exact words used in Ibn Jubayr. It is possible that the mountain, because it was a symbol of God's mercy, was called so by the weary couple and need not necessarily refer to Ibn Jubayr or any other source, yet in Doughty one learns to put on record all the possible sources, even if they were remote. There is no end of Doughty's erudition, and there is yet another possible link with Ibn Jubayr. "At the foot of this sacred mountain," says Ibn

(1) Muhammad Ibn Ahmed Ibn Jabayr (Abu Al-Hasan) Al-Kinani, Al-Balansi. "The Travels of Ibn Jubayr": Edited from an MS in the University of Leyden by William Wright, Second Edition, revised by M.J. De Goeje (E.J.W. Gibb Memorial Series) Leyden, 1907.

(2) "Arabia Deserta": pages 417 f.f.

Jubayr (page 105), "to the left of him who looks towards the qiblah (direction of Mecca), is a house of ancient construction in whose upper part is a vaulted upper chamber, attributed to Adam - may God bless and preserve him." Could this be the source of Doughty's rather well-set cave or mansion for Adam and Eve at the end of "Adam Cast Forth"? Another internal evidence in "Adam Cast Forth" perhaps points again at Massoudi, but more probably at the most famous of Arab travellers - the indefatigable Ibn Battuta. "Arafat" as we have already explained is the 'Mountain of his frankincense' ("Adam Cast Forth", page 83), because the aromatic scents of Eden still hang on Adam when he was cast off, and all the famous perfumes of India, according to Massoudi and Ibn Battuta, are the traces of the leaves he shed about on his way from Ceylon to Arabia. "There were leaves," says Massoudi, "with which he covered his body, and as they were dry, the wind carried them off, and dispersed them throughout India. It is said that the frequency of perfumes in India arises from these leaves, but some have a different opinion: God knows best." (Sprenger's translation, page 59). Ibn Battuta is probably more convincing for he has been to Arabia and travelled to India and Ceylon, and he has seen the footprints of Adam on 'Adam's Peak', or as the Portuguese called it 'Pico de Adam', and worked out the huge measures of our first father and as Adama (in "Adam Cast Forth", page 21) says his height 'Excelled the cedars'. In Ibn Battuta's pages we have the fullest treatment of the legend in the Arab travellers but there is nothing to prove beyond doubt that Doughty took him as his main source, though that was of course possible. Ibn Battuta refers to Adam's legacy of aromatic plants to Ceylon, India and Arabia, but Massoudi's list of them is full and complete, and it is possible that here we have Doughty's sources for his 'sweet-smelling

herbs./Myrrh, aloes, cedar-leaves her hand bear forth " ("Adam Cast forth", page 70), for his 'liban' (page 94) and for his 'raisins ripe and figs' (page 97)(1).

To sum it all up then, the first Arab contributions to "Adam Cast Forth" is Doughty's own experiences in Arabia itself, traversing its deserts, and lingering to rest in its oases, in realizing the harshness of nature, of its sun, rain and cold, in the deprivation of hunger, and thirst which is worse than hunger, and realizing by contrast God's great bounty in giving us first of all water, and secondly the fruits and the shades of trees and plants, and thirdly the happiness of rest in the nearness of a hearth in a tent or an oasis, and last but not least in giving us the camel. All these are prominent in "Adam Cast Forth" and the source is definitely Doughty's Arabian journey. Another contribution lies in these books of the Arabian Sīra writers, the Arab historians and the Arab travellers. But we must notice two very important points here, and these are, that Doughty takes from these sources only the outlines of the legend in general and not the particulars, and that his knowledge of his Arabic sources seems to be limited, to the ones found in European libraries, preferably translated into the languages he knew better than Arabic, like English, French and Italian. There are inner proofs of the truth of these remarks in the use of the Arabic terms in "Adam Cast Forth", for whenever he cites an Arabic term here, he betrays his ignorance, not of its sources, for he knew

(1) We should mention here that the idea was everywhere also in Doughty's Renaissance sources. The fact is discussed elsewhere in this work.

his Hebrew Bible well, but of its usages and its connotations and associations in the written Arabic of books and literature. 'Adama' is simple, for although the name as such is rarely used, yet it is as we said the regular feminine gender of the name 'Adam'. 'Adem' is simpler for when it is kept that way it is the usual English version, and when it is 'Adamu' it is the same name but in the nominative or the vocative in Arabic. "Sarsar" (pages 4, 7 and 17) is a bit more complex, for in explaining it in a footnote, as "(divine) wind", he shows that he knows only its usage in the Quran, for there it is "divine", but the word in Arabic could be used in general meaning an excessively hot, or an excessively cold, stormy wind. "Hanash" (page 4) is the only other word where Arabic is preferred to Hebrew, but the word is common stock among the Arabs and Doughty must have heard it and used it in Arabia himself. All the other Arabic terms in "Adam Cast Forth" betray his knowledge of Hebrew more than his knowledge of literary, non-colloquial Arabic. We have noticed, in reference to Doughty's debt to Sprenger's Massoudi, how the word Hawwa, is mistakenly taken to be related to 'air', and thence to 'breathe'. But possibly the best example is the word 'reem', for Doughty says in a footnote that the word means a wild ox, and clearly uses it to refer to the strength of an ox when it tosses up its victim with its horns (page 51: "And like strong reem, seems leap forth on his course"). But in Arabic, reem is always used in reference to the wideness and clarity of the antelope's eyes, and as such it refers to 'Beauty', and in particular the beauty of women's eyes! It is clear thus that Doughty leans on Arabic sources more for his subject-matter than for his vocabulary, and that whenever he adds to the Semitic terms he uses, the epithet 'Arabian',

he is in general right if the term is colloquial, but far from it if the term is literary and classical Arabic. 'Semitic' there certainly means more than Hebraic, and Doughty carefully augments the apparent érudition of his, by bringing in even the Babylonian in the footnote explaining the word 'Tehom' and the Sumerian in his footnote explanation of the word 'Helal'. But Semitic in fact means principally Hebraic, for there Doughty's knowledge was indeed colossal. The Bible has always been used by him as his greatest source for both subject-matter and language and its influence on his work in general must be accorded the highest place. But here it must be listed even higher for the Old Testament is indeed the ultimate source for any story on 'Adam and Eve' in any language and by any author. For Adam and Eve themselves are apparently a hebraic creation. Their names go back ultimately to the Hebrew language, and their story is first recorded in the Book of Genesis, and later is developed in the subsequent Hebraic collections of legends and traditions, like the Talmud and the Midrash. "Adam Cast Forth" cannot be understood without a thorough study of its Hebraic elements, for although the skeleton of the legend as we have made clear is Arabian, yet the Arabian sources themselves depend for much of their material on Hebraic origins, and Doughty himself has used them for everything other than the skeleton. The bones of "Adam Cast Forth" might be Arabian, but the flesh which covers these bones is definitely Hebraic. We have already referred to Doughty's perfect mastery of the Hebraic sources, and his weakness in his limited ability in using the original Arabian sources, recorded in pure classical language. We have already discussed some of the 'Judeo-Arabian' terms that Doughty uses in "Adam Cast Forth", but there are other purely Hebraic terms in abundance. While the purely Arabic terms, in contradistinction to terms common to the two Semitic languages, are negligible, the purely

Hebraic terms are many. We have already discussed the change of 'Gabriel' into 'Ezrael' in terms of 'Dramatis Personae', but the change seems to have also a linguistic reason for it. 'Gabriel' in Hebrew means 'the Power-of-the-Holy-One' while Ezriel', as Doughty explains means 'the Help-of-the-Holy-One', and it is probable that Doughty meant, not the power and strength of God to appear, but His help and guidance of the first Man. Thus even that apparently harmless change shows Doughty's knowledge of Hebrew. Again we come to the name of the devil. In Arabic the most frequently used is 'Iblis' and 'Shaitan' which Doughty undoubtedly knows, but he prefers the purely Hebraic name which was rarely used even in Hebrew itself: Sammael[1], the 'Adversary-of-the-Holy-One'. The aim is probably to stress the attitude, allied and complimentary at first, and then rebellious, of Satan to God, or to record even in the devil's name, the likeness first and then the difference and the contrast between him and the angels, Gabriel or Ezriel and the like. Whatever be his reason, the subtle changes and preferences show Doughty's deep knowledge of his Hebraic sources. Another rarer name that comes only once in one Hebraic source, and is used nowhere else in English literature as far as I know, is the name of 'Phanuel' ("Adam Cast Forth", page 64), which occurs only in the Apocryphal "Book of Enoch": 9: 1," as being one of the archangels. To these random examples let us add Doughty's explanation of the word 'adamat' from which springs Adam's name, as being 'the red earth', for here again his Hebrew is dominant. In

(1) See 'Midrash: Deut. 11.g. and Midrash Leviticus 21, 4.'

Arabic the word comes from 'Adeem', which means 'the surface of the earth of the skin' and 'Udmah', which means 'blackness' or 'darkness' referring to Adam's origin in the black not the red earth. Doughty probably did not know the difference here between Hebrew and Arabic, and it is probable that he would have preferred the Hebraic explanation in any case. The word 'liban' is certainly Arabic, but even there Doughty's knowledge of Hebrew shows itself when he explains the root of the word in 'whiteness'. Arabic uses the word for the aromatic plant, but for the root meaning whiteness, it has 'baiad'. The word 'Elyon' ("Adam Cast Forth", page 98) is explained as meaning 'Supreme, Most High', which, as Doughty says, is its Hebraic meaning. In Arabic the same word is used, in no less authoritative a book than the Quran itself, where it means 'not high or supreme' but 'a heavenly book or register', (Sura 83-See Sale, P. 440). The Hebraic element is clearly uppermost. 'Cherubin' might have become the property of all Christianity, and as such part of even the English vocabulary, but even there Doughty is careful to explain its Hebraic root as meaning 'nearness (to God)'. 'Bohu' ("Adam Cast Forth", page 34) is only Hebrew (Genesis 1: 2) and it means 'emptiness'. In using it Doughty seems to have waived aside, or perhaps forgotten, that 'Bohu' was once an archaic form of the English word 'bough'. One does not expect Doughty the meticulous word-digger not to know that, but it is possible that he thought that the Hebraic word might better be introduced into English because of its distinctive and suggestive sounds with no danger of its confusion with the extinct form of another word, and because of its appropriateness to his theme. Another word which is a rarity, even in Hebrew, is the word 'Hariduth' used only once in the Old Testament and meaning "ruin or destruction". But the most important Hebraic term

in "Adam Cast Forth", though here he mercifully anglicized it, is God's mystical name "I AM".

These linguistic borrowings from Hebrew are only the outward face of a deeper more pervasive Hebraic element in "Adam Cast Forth". First to refer to in Doughty's balance of the various elements is his suppression of the Arabian place-names in the Arabian legend, which, if mentioned, would have certainly localized the story and made it distinctly Arabian. In never mentioning Jidda or Mecca or Ceylon or even Arafat by name in the poem itself, Doughty has first simplified the story, and secondly universalized it (if that is feasible in a legend of our first parents!) and thirdly made himself free to use all the other non-Arabian elements. Thus it was possible for him to bring the Arabian skeleton of his poem very much nearer to the Jewish legend. Thus it became possible also to borrow from distinctly Jewish sources and cover the Arabian skeleton with what was clearly Hebraic flesh.

The primary source of the Adam and Eve legend, be it Arabian or Hebraic or Gentile, is certainly the Book of Genesis, and it is impossible for any author to tackle the theme without going back to Genesis. And true to his nature, Doughty in his manuscript notes on "Adam Cast Forth" refers to it, as he refers also to other parts of the Old Testament. First in Genesis comes the story of creation, where man comes as the inevitable apex of the pyramidal process of creation, and thus is inevitably the noblest of God's creation, made in 'His own image' and given dominion over all the rest (Genesis I, 26-30). Genesis (II, 7) gives us God breathing life into man, as Sammael tells us in "Adam Cast Forth", like the mother-bird when it feeds its young[1]. The same

(1) The same image is repeated elsewhere in Doughty's works.

verse in Genesis establishes the idea that He formed man 'of the dust of the ground', and thus explains as Doughty does in a footnote the meaning of Adam's name, and the baser part of his nature, and consequently the reason for his fall and sufferings. Genesis II, 8 and 9, relates the story of the creation of the garden, the winds and the memory of which colour the pages of "Adam Cast Forth". Genesis II, 10-14, tells of the four rivers in the Garden, but Doughty, in his general tendency towards simplification chooses to make Adam and Eve remember only one of them, the second of these rivers - Gihon. Genesis II, 15, gives God's instructions for Adam "to dress and keep" the Garden, and this perhaps is the root of the un-Islamic image of Adam and Eve working as farmers in Eden before their fall. Genesis II, 18, tells of God's decision to create "an help-meet" for Adam, and Doughty uses the word 'help-mate' in many parts of his poem. Genesis II, 20, repeats the words 'help-meet for Adam' and Genesis II, 21 and 22, give us the story of Adama's creation from Adam's rib in his sleep, and verse 23 gives us Adam's reactions towards the new arrival, who "is now bone of my bones, and flesh of my flesh". Verse 24 follows suit with what must have touched Doughty's heart in his own perfect happiness of married life, "therefore, shall a man leave his father and his mother and shall cleave unto his wife, and they shall be one flesh." Genesis I, 27, has already explained that man was created male and female, but this new idea of the oneness of 'husband and wife' which Doughty has experienced in his private life, is one of the major foundations of "Adam Cast Forth". The division which started with the temptation of Eve and not Adam by the serpent as related in Scriptures and which resulted in the differences, the divergences and the cleavage between Man and Woman in all

the literature and the lore around our two parents, is hardly mentioned anywhere in "Adam Cast Forth". It is true that in the poem, all these early events are already behind their backs, and that Doughty, unlike Milton and the others who tackled the 'Adam and Eve' story, is concerned only with the couple after the fall, and that the suppression of this question of prime responsibility for the sin and its dire consequences is feasible and needs no justification. Yet Doughty has mentioned other events and seemingly unimportant incidents, which had happened before the fall. In retrospect Adam repeats at length and perhaps unnecessarily sometimes other happenings in his own life or in their life in Eden. Neither was the sin so negligible an act, when its effects are seen in the disastrous present suffered by Adam and Eve throughout the poem. The suppression of the actual sin could be a natural result of the process of simplification we have already referred to, but it is nevertheless deliberate and its implications far reaching. For Adam's one major thought in his unhappiness is the loss of Adama, and his one first request is to be reunited with Adama, and God's acceptance of his repentance is proved to him by his reunion with Adama. Before the reunion Adam is indeed a pitiable wreck. After the reunion, in spite of the toil and the weariness, he is happy, and he is full of hope, and when the end of the journey comes, although his new mansion in the cave is hell compared to his past dwelling in Eden, he is yet happy and contented in his new united life with the beloved. Improbable as it is, some readers might explain this as a simple psychological suppression on the part of Adam, into his sub-conscious, of the guilt of the past, by the opposite heightening of his feeling of happiness in an imperfect present and an uncertain future. Yet the stress in "Adam Cast Forth" is clearly on the unity and oneness of Adam and Eve, and it

has the stamp of sincerity and truth. Doughty was no psychologist, and was certainly using no camouflage. He sincerely meant it to be so. Unlike Milton, he would not take sides in the contention. For him the quarrel itself is brushed aside: Man does not say as he says in Genesis III, 12, "The woman whom thou gavest to be with me, she gave me of the tree, and I did eat." He only says, "When God was angry with us." They were together in everything, and the greatest evil that fell on them was their separation. That was more destructive and more abominable than either the exile from Eden, or this arduous journey and all their present difficulties. Even the later, more permanent effects of their fall on humanity were not important. "Cursed is the ground for thy sake," says Genesis III, 17. "Thorns also and thistles shall it bring forth to thee," says Genesis III, 18 and Genesis III, 18 again says, "in sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread." But all this is unimportant compared to their earlier separation. That is what makes "Adam Cast Forth" a happy poem in spite of the hunger and the thirst and the tribulation. Yet that first and most important separation of husband and wife was nothing but a physical separation. Emotionally they were united all through, and when they met the separation ended and they became one in every way. Emotional separation never occurred to them, nor does it seem possible, and their only fear after the meeting was the possibility of another physical separation, so much so that they tie their bodies together when they sleep (page 15). Here is perfect unity. Here is the clean child-like purity and the first uncomplicated ideal happiness of real marriage, so idyllic and so simple that any romantic poet of the 19th century might have thought of it, with no other justification but the emotional necessity of his personal feelings and this aesthetic necessity of his

story. But Doughty is different. Nothing in Doughty's poem is simple or child-like, for even here his erudition shows itself, and diverse important external sources are used. For the commentators on the Old Testament were not at one in their understanding of "Adam and Eve" in Genesis, and Doughty must have known all their conflicting interpretations. A most primitive idea is that which occurs in "The Midrash" about the first creation of Man. Man according to it was not created as <u>two</u> separate beings, but as one composite being. (Genesis I, 27) is explained not as 'male and female' but as 'male-female', not as man and woman, but as one being who is at the same time 'man-woman'. Some rabbinical commentators, though decidedly a minority, explain that 'rib' in Hebrew is feminine, and means 'side', which is then taken to mean that Adam was created with two sides or faces, one male and the other female. Some go further and say that Adam was created with two faces and one back, and God cut his body in two, each face by itself and the one back was made into two. Now we should not be deceived by the apparent naivety of these early commentators for the controversy had more to it than these absurdities. First there was the philological discussion which would certainly appeal to Doughty, and later on it was to bear fruit in a philosophical argument which had tremendous implications. The word 'Adam' in Genesis could be interpreted as the proper name of a certain individual being and it could be interpreted as a common name, referring, not to a certain individual bearing his own name, but to Man as a species. Nor did it stop there for the controversy extends to Philo and the Neo-Platonists who took it to refer to a 'Heavenly Man' in 'the image of God', who

was not and neither could be man or woman, but an incorporeal 'idea' of Intelligence[1]. In this 'ideal' all created beings had their consummation because, in the consciousness which he, unlike the other created beings, possessed, he was certainly the representative and the living will of all creation. Nor did this stop with the Jewish thinkers or commentators. St. Paul's references (ICorinthians XV, 45-50) to the differences in us between the earthly Adam and the spiritual heavenly Adam was taken by a minority of interpreters to mean exactly that. Nor was this far from the field of literature. Doughty was not the first to translate the Hebraic 'Ha'Adam' to the English 'the Adam'[2], meaning Adam and Eve together, but he was certainly the first to stress it, and to put it into practice by showing them as <u>one</u>, if not physically, at least emotionally. It is true that in reading "Adam Cast Forth" one does not need to bother about this important controversy, nor know about the 'ideals' of Plato, and the interpretations of 'Philo' or what was meant by St. Paul's references. Yet there is more to it than what appears on the surface, for we must not forget that 'Adam and Eve' were exactly in the centre of the whirlpool in the wild battles of Religion versus Science in the middle years of the nineteenth century. Doughty was involved then and is involved when writing "Adam Cast Forth", and his method is the usual way of doing something practical, as creating the living vivid characters

(1) And beyond that to Plato and his 'Ideas'.

(2) See the first stage direction in the Benedictine Norman Christmas play 'Adam', (E.K. Chambers) where Adam is referred to as 'the Adam'. (This play will be referred to and discussed later).

of Adam and Eve, instead of becoming entangled in endless controversies. But the controversy is not far away. In this practical creation of Adam and Eve, Doughty found it emotionally and aesthetically preferable to follow the commentators of the Midrash and the Talmud, who stress the oneness and unity of the first married couple by calling them 'the Adam' and 'the Adam-twain'. The emotional unity of these two simple creatures is indissoluble. Thus their difficulties are all external, as we said, difficulties of storm and thirst, of rain and hunger, hardships of road and abode, but never problems of the heart or the mind, the fact which indicates their simplicity, and in turn adds to their simplicity.

Genesis contains all that there is in the Old Testament on Adam and Eve, but the legend of the separation and recognition of Adam and Eve, whether in its Hebraic or Arabian version, is a later addition to the lore. Thus Doughty's poem is not indebted to Genesis for the outlines of the legend, but it is indebted to it in everything else. The debt to Genesis and the other books of the Old Testament, in both style and subject-matter is greater than the debt to any other one single source. Genesis, for example, provides the larger frame into which the story of separation and recognition itself is enclosed. It provides the past whichleads to it and which looms larger over every part of the poem, and provides the golden memories of life in Eden which decide the attitudes of Adam and Eve in every part of their future life. Certain parts of "Adam Cast Forth" are pure Genesis, and most of the rest is coloured by it. Indeed the poem opens with a scene the source of which is mainly Genesis. We have already mentioned that the word Harisuth itself, which fixes the scene, is a rare Hebrew word meaning

emptiness used only in Genesis (I, 2). Sammael is the character shown here, and his name as we said is also a rare Hebrew name. He gives us glimpses into the story of his creation:

"Am I not that great Sammael, he that was
Before the stars? Beside me only was
The Everlasting . . ."

Then follow the gradual stages of creation on Page 3. First comes the creation of Earth, and the 'Deep', and then the tree, and the 'green herb', and then:

"God spake again: and beasts and birds of heaven,
and fishes, things of flesh, were made alive."

And these latest creations of God lacked not 'sense' or 'motion' or 'voice'. Yet they lacked more important fundamentals like 'mind' and 'speech':

"Nor lacked they sense nor motion, in their kinds,
Nor voice: yet wanting mind and speech, those might not
Through communing, to understanding grow,
Nor praise to Him which made them yield, nor thanks,
Nor going those belly-down low on Earth's ground,
Look upward."

So God at last created Adam who excelled all the rest of his creations by having 'mind' and 'speech' and through them the ability to communicate and thus to 'understand'. In spite of the emergence of Adam from the self-same substance from which these other creatures were made, Adam differed from them:

" . . . as flitting bird her young one feedeth;
I Sammael beheld, from hence, far off,
The Highest breathe of His Spirit, in Adam's breast!"

Thus Adam was a mixture of dust and spirit, and it was easy for the least of the Devil's servants to deceive him, the results of which were God's curse, God's wrath, and His terrible divine wind. Doughty's dependence on Genesis for his story of the creation and the fall is deeper than might appear at first sight. Notice for example his choice of the word 'trespass', instead of 'sin'. 'Sin' is a stronger word than 'trespass', and carries with it heavier emotive meanings. 'Trespass', though used in the Bible sometimes to give exactly the same meaning as the word 'sin', is also used again to give a weaker more generalized meaning. See for example its usage in Matthew (18: 12) and Luke (17: 3 and 17: 4): "thy brother trespass against thee." In using it instead of the words 'Sin' or 'Fall', Doughty follows all the traditions on the surface but in reality follows more the Hebraic Old Testament tradition and not the Christian New Testament tradition of the importance of Adam's 'Sin' or 'Fall'.

Genesis, again, is used when nearer the end of the second Song, Adam and Eve begin to tell each other of their experiences during their period of separation, and Adam, unnecessarily, perhaps, goes further back to tell of the events in Eden before the fall. There Adam begins by his own creation from 'Adamat', the red Earth:

"I waked, in what hour I created was,
A living flesh; and mingled infinite voice,
Of things done in the heavens, and on the Earth,
Was in my ears. And feeling every sense:
Mine eyes, when I them opened, received Light."

Which like that of Satan is an extended verse commentary on Genesis. Like Satan, Adam repeats what seems to be one of Doughty's favourite points in his Humanism:

"Not as trees' root-fast trunks, was Adam's being,
Which I beheld at erst: I moved, stood up,
On my two feet; alone among them walked."

This ability to move is as important and significant in the opinion of the poet-traveller, as Adam's ability to benefit from his knowledge of the language of the Angels in communing with them, and learning from them. Important among the arts taught him by the Angels is the art of tilling the Garden and of planting herbs and trees, which became his first occupation in Paradise, and which always brings out in "Adam Cast Forth" the idyllic beautiful lyric note whenever it is remembered:

"He Adam then those heavenly voices taught,
How with mine hands, to till God's Garden-ground;
And the clear water-channels to lead round -
About the roots of the Lord's pleasant plants;
And tender slips beside my furrows set:
And to sow seed, that might conceive the earth;
And bring forth in her season, and rejoice:
And how to prune God's fruitful trees, and dress;
That should their branches flourish."

Then Adam shows his 'understanding' by explaining the difference between his own nature and the nature of God's angels, who, as he says, are not of flesh and not of the ground, but unsubstantial like Adam's thoughts:

"They came to sight and vanished forth again,
As the steep wings of birds."

He completes the story of creation in Genesis by telling how Adama was in his sleep severed from his breast, and how they lived in happiness till the day they were deceived by "creeping beast, we knew not of". The method of deception and the ways of it are not explained[1] and the result is simply that "Then God was weary with us", and they were driven out of Paradise and separated by the "Fiery Tempest".

Again Genesis is used later on to provide the background when the Chorus (page 100) reporting on Adam and Eve on their way down from the Mountain to the "Lord's High Field", goes back in time even further than either Satan or Adam, into the very beginning:

"Before all things that be, I-AM, God was:
When yet there Height was not, nor Depth, nor Place,
AM only was . . . .etc. "(Page 100)

And in this critical half-way period between the ugly deprivation of their cursed journey, and the new hopeful life of settlement and happiness, the Chorus reminds us of the gradual phases of creation to "Man, the Lord's new flesh-clad Spirit", whose eyes "conceived Light", although they were made of clay, and whose heart conceives "Knowledge" now.

These are the particular points reminiscent of Genesis, but Genesis certainly pervades all in "Adam Cast Forth". Life in Eden persists all through as the ever-shining memory of the golden past, which partly illuminates the darkness, and partly increases the dire

(1) The word 'Hanash' used elsewhere tells of the agent but not the method and the story of the deception.

hardships of their dangerous journey. In the midst of a sordid present, and a future which seems sometimes uncertain, the past appears idyllic, symbolized in the best, the noblest and purest life that Man can ever think of - life in Eden, under the wings of the Lord, and in perfect harmony with Him, with His angels, and all his created beings. That past which is the magnetic mesmerising pivot in "Adam Cast Forth", is at the same time the remotest point to which any man tracing back human life could ever go. People like Doughty for whom the past is always alive, and for whom the whole history of Man is one, are bound to be intrigued by that earliest period, which was at the same time the highest, the noblest and the happiest time.

But Genesis is not ~~only~~ the only Old Testament book used in "Adam Cast Forth". Although in the Holy Book Adam and Eve are created, begin to live in Eden, fall then and leave it, descend to Earth and start human life, beget children and die at last, all within the chapters of Genesis, yet other books of the Old Testament played no less important parts in the making of "Adam Cast Forth" than Genesis. Some of these have a particular isolated effect on a particular part of "Adam Cast Forth" and because in general the accumulated effect of the whole Old Testament is fused all over the poem, we ventured at the beginning to say that it provides the flesh for the Arabian skeleton. The first to mention after Genesis is Exodus, for in chapter III of that book occurs the mystical name of God which Doughty uses in an important point of "Adam Cast Forth", as the secret name of God revealed by Him in Eden. Instead of the name used in Genesis, and used even in Exodus (Exodus IV: 3, for example), "Jahweh", Doughty prefers the name used in Exodus (III: 14) - I AM: "And Moses said unto God, Behold when I come unto the children of Israel, and shall

say unto them the God of your fathers hath sent me unto you, and they shall say unto me, what is his name? What shall I say unto them? And God said unto Moses, 'I AM THAT I AM'."(1) Thus is shown that neither Moses nor the Hebrews were certain as to the identity of their God by name though they had the traditions of their fathers. Life seems to depend on the mysterious mystical moving power of the invoked name of God. The same is true about the situation in "Adam Cast Forth" when the name is used. Adam is at a loss as to the true identity of the 'Voice' he hears, true or false, heavenly or Satanic, and he puts it to the test by asking two questions, one practical which is about his reunion with Adama and the other mystical. Like the children of Israel when they would want to be certain and would ask Moses, "What is His name?", Adam asks the 'Voice', and the answer is the same, "I AM" (Page 8). This is not to ascribe to the Israelites of Moses any mystical knowledge or experience, and certainly not to the Adam in "Adam Cast Forth". All that is to it, is that here a man in distress and tribulation needs to be reassured and the way of his reassurance in "Adam Cast Forth" is taken from Exodus.

Another, possibly more important and further reaching influence of the Old Testament Books on Doughty, is the writings about Angels. In "Adam Cast Forth" and indeed in the whole of his works Doughty does not provide a formal classification of these elusive 'Spirits'. Yet the difference between, say, the angels and the cherubim exists in Doughty although nowhere mentioned or discussed. The greater, more

(1) See "The Origins of the name YHWH" by Rev. R.A. Barclay, Page 44, Volume XV, Transactions of C.U.O.S.

powerful angels and archangels are mentioned in the earlier books of the Old Testament either as the 'Voice of the Lord' (See for example, Genesis 3: 8 and 3: 10 - Exodus 19: 19 - Psalms 18: 13 and 29: 3,4, 5,7,8,9) or simply as the 'angel of the Lord' (See for example Genesis 16: 7 and 16: 9 - Exodus 3:2 and 23: 23 and 33: 2). Of them Doughty seems to have known much. We have already referred to his deliberate discarding of Gabriel and Michael and the choice of 'Uzriel' as the sole Archangel representing the 'Voice of God' in "Adam Cast Forth". Doughty indeed calls him sometimes 'Uzriel' and sometimes simply the "Voice". Yet it is clear that Doughty must have ransacked the Holy Book and the commentaries in his usual meticulous way for the usages of the 'angel' and the 'voice'. We can certainly assume that he deliberately studied his subject in the canonical and the non-canonical books, because the rarest name used for an Archangel in the whole body of Judean, Christian and Islamic Angelology is chosen of all the other names to be used once in "Adam Cast Forth". Doughty's 'bright-eyed Phanuel" ("Adam Cast Forth": page 64) is mentioned as fourth archangel only once in the Christian Ethiopic "Book of Enoch". Besides Michael, Raphael and Gabriel, 'the fourth, who is set upon the repentance unto hope of those who inherit eternal life, is named Phanuel.'(1) Actually the name occurs once only in the New Testament, (St. Luke 2: 36) but there it is just the name of a man. This choice of a rarity is characteristic of Doughty and telling of his almost pedantic erudition. Another rarity is Doughty's enumeration of the first offspring of Adam and Eve on Earth, which is neither Islamic nor Christian. Indeed it provides a clear example of how Doughty uses his sources freely. For

(1) 'The Book of Enoch': Chapter XI, Page 60, Canon R.H. Charles' translation: 2nd edition: London 1917.

he says that Eve begat three, two sons and one daughter: Cain, Abel and Noaba. Now all sources bring in the names of the first two, whose later story has become part of the common lore. But the third name, that of 'Nosba', exists nowhere except in "The Biblical Antiquities" of Philo Judeaus. A rare name in a rare book, but Doughty has read it, and chose to include the name in "Adam Cast Forth". Although the most important compendium of angels and spirits in the Holy Book is beyond doubt St. John's 'Revelations' and Doughty beyond doubt knew that well, yet it seems to me that the Book of Daniel is particularly the source to single out here, for Daniel speaks of "thousands and tens of thousands" of angels just as St. John speaks of their "myriads upon myriads", but Daniel gives the impression not only that there is "an angel for every phenomenon" but also that there are particular angels for the different nations.(1) The third book of Daniel first repeats remarks on "All Nations, Peoples and Languages", (III, 6: 26) and then apparently links these with particular national guardian angels (III, 7 and 8). It might have perhaps been better to discuss this point, in the other Doughty works, where national guardian angels abound, in the "Dawn in Britain" for example or in the "Prophetic Books", for "Adam Cast Forth" is the story of Man before nations were ever thought of, and it would be an outrageous anachronism to bring in national representatives when nations have not yet appeared. But Doughty uses the name "Merodach" in "Adam Cast Forth" (page 58) and calls him the "Angel of the Helm of Light". Now Merodach was the patron deity of the city of Babylon and was as such rival and an enemy of Jehovah. The Old Testament speaks of "Evil-Merodach" (II Kings 25: 27 and Jeremiah 52: 31) and Merodach himself is said by Jeremiah (50: 2)

(1) See the article on "Angels": The Jewish Encyclopaedia.

to"be broken into pieces". But Doughty makes him an angel. Milton used these gods of the rival nations as the Evil fallen Spirits, Angels gone wrong, and Doughty makes Merodach, going a step further back, an angel in Paradise. But "Adam Cast Forth" is no huge residue of angels, good or bad, as "Paradise Lost" is, and Doughty was not like Milton working under the necessity of searching for characters to fill a huge empty void. Nor was it consistent with the movement in "Adam Cast Forth" which is towards not complication or accumulation but simplification and concentration. Doughty's manuscript Notes for "Adam Cast Forth" reveal that another of these national gods had occurred to him, yet it does not come in the completed text of "Adam Cast Forth". If it did, it would have been nearer Doughty's heart than Merodach, because it was to the god of winds among the Anglo-Saxons that he refers twice in these manuscripts(1). Perhaps it was meant to replace or strengthen the Arabian 'Barsar', and then Doughty, fortunately, decided not to put it in. Doughty's usual method of thorough investigation of the sources and the accumulation of all his material before he begins to compose his works, shows itself more clearly when we come to discuss the other important group of 'spirits'. For beside the angels there exist the cherubim. Doughty is careful of the difference between the archangels and the angels on one side and the cherubims on the other when he refers to the origin of their Hebraic name in 'nearness to God' ("Adam Cast Forth", page 84.). The cherubims are always near God, and do not usually venture far from Him. Some of them bear His throne; some stand on His right and some on His left; and

(1) The name of the god in question is not mentioned in the Notes.

some guard His Mansions in the Garden of Eden, and defend its gates with their swords or their strong wings. In the manuscript Notes, it is clear that Doughty has rancacked the pages of the Bible for the meaning and occupations of the cherubims. Although he must have known these before and used them before, yet in these notes he copies from the Bible again and again these interesting entries, a selection of which I copy here as an example of Doughty's thoroughness of approach to his work, and of the tremendous effort that went into the making of this shortest and 'simplest' of Doughty's poems. From II Samuel (22: 11) he copies "Abd he rode upon a cherub, and did fly: and he was seen upon the wings of the wind", which is coupled with the similar line from Psalms (18: 10) "And he rode upon a cherub, and did fly: yea, he did fly upon the wings of the wind." From Ezekiel comes a number of quotations. First is copied Ezekiel's words against the Prince of Tyrus, a reference to Adam's fall and casting, "By the multitude of thy merchandise they have filled the midst of thee with violence, and thou has sinned; therefore I will cast thee as profane out of the mountain of God; and I will destroy thee, O Covering Cherub, from the midst of the stones of fire" (Ezekiel, 28: 16). Then again Ezekiel (10: 15) is copied, "And the cherubims were lifted up. This is the living creature. This is the living creature that I saw by the river of Chebar." Then again from Ezekiel (11: 22) "Then did the cherubims lift up their wings, and the wheels besides them; and the glory of the God of Israel was over them above." (Compare these borrowings from Ezekiel with this from "Adam Cast Forth" and in particular the last line:

. . . . . borne on manifold wings,
From Eden's East Gate forth, whereas they sat;
Hearkening on height, and watching slide the stars!
The Cherubim of His glory are lifted up. (page 2)).

Then follows in the manuscript Notes a line where he explains that "Karubi means mighty ones", and the two references already mentiomed to the Anglo-Saxon "deity"of wind. Then back to Ezekiel, and the quotation this time is (14: 21) "For thus saith the Lord God, How much more when I send my four sore judgements upon Jerusalem, the sword, and the famine, and the noisome beast, and the pestilence, to cut off from it man and beast?", and this is followed by a line from Job (31: 26) "If I beheld the sun when it shined, or the moon walking in brightness ." Again he repeats the first two quotations from II Samuel (22: 11) and Psalms (18: 10) "He rode upon a cherub and did fly." Then part of the quotation from Ezekiel (28: 16) "O Covering Cherub", and then from the New Testament follows the line from St. Paul (Hebrews 9: 15) "The Cherubim of glory," which was copied in full once before, "And over it the Cherubims of glory, shadowing the mercy seat, of which . . . " and then again to Ezekiel's "The cherubim were lifted up " (10: 15) and "The Cherubims lifted up their wings and mounted up from the earth in my sight" (Ezekiel 10: 19) and "Then did the cherubims lift up their winge" (Ezekiel 11: 22). Again under the heading of "Cherubim" he writes, "Thought to be the Lord's winged spirits that sit as homely guardians of gates." Then he tries his hand at a compound word about them in "Mighty wings" and then crosses "mighty" and writes "mighty-winged ones" which gives us just a simple example of how the Bible goes deep into the weaving of the poetry in "Adam Cast Forth", All that I have given here is only a sample, for under "Cherubim" the process goes on in the manuscript Notes for pages, and 'cherubim' is only one heading in

Another adjective tried for "rocks" is 'drossy' in "drossy rocks" and again the word comes from 'dross' in Ezekiel (22: 18) and Psalms (119: 119). A third epithet for "rocks" is 'chapt' which in turn comes from Jeremiah (14: 4) "Because the ground is chapt". A fourth is 'crooked', a fifth is 'scaled' from Isiah (40: 12). A sixth epithet for "rocks" is "brute ground rocks", a seventh is "parched rocks", an eighth is "hideous rocks". Then there follow more combinations in "stoney field" and other compound words in "craigstones" and "craigland". From these and others accumulated carefully and tried again and again by themselves first, in simple combinations then, and later reshuffled and regrouped, Doughty apparently chose what seemed to him the most sinewy, the most living and the most impressive epithet, or if that did not satisfy him, he work out of these a new compound word. For "feet", for example, he contemplates 'hurt', then 'wounded', then 'heavy', then 'bleeding', and then tries 'fretted feet', and then at last tried one borrowed from Spenser "surbate" (F.Q. III, iv.34). For the word 'heat', he tests the adjectives 'extreme' and 'bitter' and 'withering' and 'piercing'; then 'blinding heat' and 'giddy heat' and 'violent heat' and 'dazing heat'. Similar to these are the words "Sunbeat" and "Vale heat". Similar again but stronger is an Italian phrase he copies: "turbine de fuoco",(1) which means a storm or whirlwind of fire, and which he soon uses in combinations like "Fiery tempest of the Sun's rays" and later repeats in the simpler more compact "Tempest of the Sun", and at last is summed up in the Arabic word

(1) That is exactly the way Doughty wrote them, or is it just his handwriting? It should of course be "turbini di fuoco".

"Sarsar", written here in Arabic script but inaccurately. From Genesis again he copies under "Harra" and repeats more than once "The drought consumed me" (31: 40). Still under "Harra" come quotations from Job (6: 7) ". . . . were my sorrowful meats," and from Habbakuk (1: 9) comes, "faces sup up as the East Wind" which is used in deliberations like "The Sun his heat suppeth up the pools of the East Wind" and is used at last in the beautiful line in "Adam Cast Forth".

Sun suppeth up the pools.

Still under 'Harra' but indicative of another part of the journey in the wilderness is the quotation from Zecharias (4: 6) "Not by my might, nor by my power, but by my Spirit," which shows the ways of heavenly help given to Adam and Eve in the journey in "Adam Cast Forth". From Exodus (33: 14) he copies, "My Presence shall go with thee . . . " which like the quotation from Zechariah refers to "Ezriel". On God's power, he copies from Isaiah (64: 1) "... the Mountains might flow down at thy Presence" and from Psalms (46: 2) he quotes, ". . . mountains be carried unto the sea" and from Job (9: 5 and 28: 9) he copies "The mountains removed and melted in his anger." Still under "Harra", but obviously about Adam's sacrifice in the wilderness he quotes Jeremiah (51: 25) ". . . will make thee a burnt mountain", and then transliterates (in Roman script) the Arabic word Sebil.(1) Under the heading of the Hebrew word "Hariouth" (Genesis 1: 2) come more word notes and new combinations of nouns and adjectives like the alliterative "wailful winds" and "blossomed boughs" and like the strong "Age-abiding heat". Earth is said to be

(1) One meaning of the word in classical Arabic is "way". Another more homely and here more appropriate meaning is shelter and water (tap or fountain or well) "a place where on roads for the weary wayfarer's benefit" are charitably provided and maintained.

'sun-drowned' and then that it is crossed for the better 'sun-drenched". 'Harisuth' is called the land of 'draught and dreariness' "and of the Shadow of death" from Jeremiah (2: 6). The verb 'to sleep' is first written and then is erased and the verb 'to swoon' is written instead. That last word goes into the making of the longer combination "Land that is silent and swoons under the sun, deaf with the burden of fiery heat". Harisuth seems to have been divided into two in Doughty's opinion, for here we have "Two H.: the Dark and the Light", which certainly refers to Sammael's abode, which is dark and hopeless, and Adam's abode during the period of God's anger, which was comparatively lightened with hope of repentance and redemption. Under the heading "Incense" Doughty seems to have been reflecting on Adam's offering. 'Galbanum' is said to mean 'a strong smelling gum'. 'Laudanum' is also mentioned, but we know that at the end he preferred the Arabic word "liban".(1) As we have already shown, even if the word is Arabic, the explanation Doughty gives is certainly Hebraic, and betrays the real source of the word. Of Hebraic origin also are the "Cedars", the only trees of Paradise mentioned in "Adam Cast Forth", (See Ezekiel 31: 8), and the 'lilies', the only roses of Paradise mentioned in the poem (See Ca. 6: 2). More like this is later brought in under the headings of "Offer", "Offering" and "Sacrifice". Among many quotations under "Instruction", dealing with the Angel's revelations to Adam on the future of his seed, there comes a quotation from Job (24: 1) to which Doughty adds a beginning: "Tell me since 'times are not hidden from the Almighty'". Under "Instruction" also Doughty refers to the

(1) The Hebrew word is 'lebonah' which in Greek is 'libanos', but in the English Bible is given as 'Frankincense', which is used more than once in "Adam Cast Forth".

innocence of Adam and Eve,[1] in "They being like little children to whom all thing is new strange and wonderful: and they learn hourly more and more to know themselves and the land and to obey and fear the Lord." Under 'Reveal', Doughty repeats a quotation he had already given from I Chronicles (18: 19) "The Lord made me understand in writing of his hand upon me." Under the Arabic word "Sarsar", none of the word-notes is Arabic. Most of it comes from Biblical sources, like the "Fire, brimstone and an horrible tempest," which is a contribution from Psalms (11: 6). At last under "Voice", he completes his quotations by one from Isaiah (22: 14) "It was revealed in mine ears of the Lord".

These random examples from the word-notes are given to explain the ways which the influences of the Old Testament take into the subject-matter and the texture of "Adam Cast Forth". One does not need to go very deep to discover in the beautiful simplicity of:

And God was weary with us,

the influence of Isaiah (43: 23 and 24) "thou hastwearied me with thine iniquity", or of Malachi (2: 17) "Ye have wearied the Lord with your words", or of Jeremiah (15: 6), "I am weary with repenting"; nor to look far to notice the link between Doughty's

Earth which God formed of old, and stablished it (Page 2)

and the words of Jeremiah (33: 2) "the Lord formed it, to establish it". Doughty's fondness for the word "brow" (for example in "Brow of Harisuth") recalls St. Luke's (4: 29) "and led him unto the brow of the hill". Doughty's "Garab" (Page) reminds us of

(1) The point is fully dealt with on Page 396 *ff*.

Jeremiah's (31: 39) "the hill Garab".(1) His excessive usage of the word "Twain" recalls its usage in the Bible in Isaiah(6: 2) and Ezekiel (2: 19) and in Matthew (19: 5) and Mark (10: 8) and Ephesians (2: 15). Even the beautiful 'buffetted' in "sharp rocks rent my buffetted flesh", (Page 32) has a biblical source, for it is used many times in the Bible (See Matthew 26: 67, or Mark 14: 65 or I Corinthians 4: 11, or II Corinthians 12: 7). Even the general atmosphere of "Adam Cast Forth" seems strangely similar to the atmosphere in some of the Old Testament Books, in that the experiences vary between the two extremes of happiness, rest, abundance and joy when God is near and man obedient, and of thirst, hunger, misery and afflictions when man is disobedient or when God is testing Man's endurance and sincerity of repentance. Thus the influences of the journey of the Hebrews in the wilderness, or the afflictions of Job, or the lamentations of Jeremiah, are not hard to assess in "Adam Cast Forth". The Biblical references lie deeply embedded in every part of the poem. Even the Arabic terms which are sometimes used to emphasize the Arabian origin of the legend and the Arabian colouring of the poem, cover in fact influences that came direct from the Bible. Thus the point we have made at the beginning that the only two ways of the Arabian Islamic contribution to the poem are: first Doughty's own experiences in the Arabian Deserts and secondly the skeleton taken mostly from the translated Islamic books of the Sàra, of history and of travel, translated into the European languages becomes abundantly clear. We have proved that the Hebraic element is domènant over all other elements. Even tho

(1) Doughty seems to borrow the meaning but not the spelling and pronunciation of the Arabic word "Gharb", which means "West".

unimportant details of the poem have a direct or indirect link with the Bible.

But the Bible is partly Judean, partly Christian, and the point of view of a Christian reading the Bible is different from the point of view of a non-Christian reader, be he Judean or Moslem. For the Christians the book is finely balanced between the events of the Old Testament and the events of the New. Great is the stress on Adam's Sin and Fall, so great that human effort alone could never suffice to redeem life to its earlier purity: to do that needed something beyond human power or human understanding. Only God-made-into-Man could combat sin and death in man. Thus the story of the fall of Man in Adam could not be completed or understood except by its logical and necessary sequel of Man's redemption through the crucifixion of Christ, the Man-God. "Paradise Lost" by Adam is only a part to be made whole and perfect by "Paradise Regained" in Jesus. Thus any story which tells of the fall in its Christian context, is bound <u>first</u> to stress the fact of Adam's Sin and the impossibility of an easy pardon, and <u>secondly</u> to complete the circle by either telling of or foretelling the advent of Christ. "Adam Cast Forth" certainly does neither. It is not that the poem is on a smaller scale than, say, "Paradise Lost", and because of that could not take in everything. It is not that "Adam Cast Forth" starts outside the Gates of Eden, thus leaving out the war in Heaven and the decisive role of the Son in it, and stops as soon as Adam and Eve begin their normal human family life in their home-cave, thus ending before the advent of Christ on Earth. It is not that Doughty's whole attitude is of deliberate simplification,

of trimming and pruning and of discarding the unimportant. Although each of these points is true in one way or another, yet "Adam Cast Forth" has taken in so much and could easily take in more. Although the story begins and ends outside Eden, yet reminiscences abound, and earlier events before the creation of Adam, or the creation of Eden itself, are brought in. To explain and expound and dwell a little more on so important a cataclysm as the 'Act of Sin', or the part played by the "Son" in the Heavenly wars, was not at all beyond the ingenious abilities of our poet. Doughty always welcomes an opportunity to give us more war poetry or the chance to bewail and moan and complain. Nor was it impossible or even difficult to bring in references to the other important event of the Crucifixion, for Doughty was always fond of Prophecies. In "Adam Cast Forth" itself Adam is shown, in a vision, the different aspects of his Children's life on Earth, in which their happiness in peace and their strife in war, the bliss of obeying God, and the dangers of disobeying Him are mentioned, everything in fact except the one most important event in the story of God and Man, from the Orthodox Christian point of view. Nor is it the pruning and trimming necessary from the aesthetic point of view, the fear that an emphasis on "The Sin" or a reference to the "Redemption" might unhinge the fine balance of the poem, when the aim of the poet is to dwell only on the story of Adam and Eve after the fall. Aesthetically the story as it stands needs a lot more of trimming. Much the same material is, for example, used and repeated by the Angel and the Chorus. Information given once by Satan for example is repeated by the Chorus and by Adam, and the reader is sometimes bored in the ever-recurring scenes and repeated episodes and the

monotonous pattern of desert-oasis-desert-oasis or danger-succour-danger-succour. No; the simple fact is that "Adam Cast Forth" is deliberately Semitic, Judean-Islamic and not Christian in subject-matter, in theme and in the ideas behind it. What Doughty brings in, is naturally important but what he leaves out deliberately is no less significant. Like an iceberg, what appears in "Adam Cast Forth" is only a part of the whole. What does not appear is no less important. We have already referred to the deliberate choice of "trespass" and not "sin", and how in using the milder word, Doughty deliberately robs the event of its depths of degradation in Orthodox Christian thought. Knowing Doughty's meticulous choice of words, we are certain the choice is deliberate. He plays it down. But he does not, and could not, do without it. Although Adam's "Sin" is not stressed it is still there. It is never explained as if 'Adam' was too ashamed to dwell on it. Neither the "Voice", nor the "Chorus" would expound it fully, as if it were just a sordid part in a natural story better to be glossed over or forgotten. And 'Adam' is in so pitiful a state that we are naturally on his side. Pity for him is made to be stronger than our feeling of his guilt, and this seems to have been the attitude of God and His Voice, for the effect of Adam's trespass on Him is at first simplified into the mild"And God was wearÿ with us", and when the poem begins even that 'anger' seems to have subsided. Sarsar had stopped, and the cruellest part of the punishment from Adam's point of view, his separation from Hawwa, was about to end, and the 'Voice' of God was there to guard them against all evil. Even the dangerous beasts of the Earth were ordered not to hurt them. Adam and Eve were still to go through hardships, but these were integral parts of the

pre-ordained scheme of Life, and like the events of a Greek play, all the parts were known, and the end was revealed at the beginning. Adam and Eve were wading through their appointed parts in an atmosphere of predestination. Yet the end when it came had nothing in it of the pure depths of human tragedy in the Greek plays. This was not meant to be a tragedy. All the hardships of Adam and Eve were external hardships of hunger, thirst, blindness, heat and cold and weariness of hard travel. They do not show the convulsive heavings of a troubled heart or the shattering combustion of a shattered mind. We are not denying the great abilities of Doughty in conveying pictorially and visually the pains of this weary couple and their joy at deliverance. That is one of the beauties of Doughty's poetry. But the kind of pain, and the means of showing it in "Adam Cast Forth" are peculiarly Semitic, neither Greek-Classical nor European-Christian. To make my point more clear let me draw attention to Milton's "Samson Agonistes", which more than his Adam or Eve, could be compared to Doughty's hero and heroine. With the wealth of Milton's Christian theology and knowledge of Greek literature and thought, Samson is portrayed as a giant of # body and a giant of # mind, and the pains of the mind are clearly more important and more fundamental than the pains of the body. The same idea of the living intellectual mind of an early biblical being is portrayed in Bernard Shaw's "Back to Methuselah", where both Adam and Eve are like two naughty debators in a twentieth century European Children's debating society. Doughty's "Adam Cast Forth" is from another world completely different from that of Shaw's Adam and Eve, and certainly older and more archaic, and more matter-of-fact than Milton's "Samson" or his "Adam and Eve".

In "Adam Cast Forth" the letter and the spirit as well as the texture and the manner are all Semitic. "There is no pastoral quite like this", says Harbert Davis, ". . . . the primitive scene and action demand alike the simplest language." The Semitic mind, unlike the European mind at its best in ancient Greece or Nineteenth Century Europe, does not show itself in theoretical, abstract or intellectual flights. It is more primitive in that it sticks to what it knows in its actual world through the senses. All analogies in thought and expression are meant to be felt, and to be understood through the feeling. The actual object is better in their creed than the symbols that stand for it. The direct word which tells about it is better than the simile which portrays its qualities. The simile in turn is preferred to the metaphor which is a step further into abstraction. The metaphor, if at all used, would preferably be simple and not extended or complex. Even God, the most abstract of beings, is felt through the senses. In the "Old Testament" and in "Adam Cast Forth", you do not <u>know</u> of the existence of God, you <u>feel</u> it too. If you cannot touch it, or seeit, you hear His Voice and speak to Him. The air itself is full of Him, not in abstraction like Aristotle's 'God', but in direct contact through your body. If God is angry, the body of his creatures would taste the effects of His anger. If God is to pardon, His pardon shows in the actual physical world around you. 'Sarsar' is His driving force; 'Hariouth' is His curse, and the Valley-of-the-Lords-Rest is His acceptance of Adam's repentance. Thus even if "Adam Cast Forth" does not show the same complexity of inner life within the heart and the mind of Adam and Eve as Greek plays do or as Milton does, it has another, and certainly not inferior, kind of vivid unity, the unity not of logic and the intellect, but of man's nervous system. It is primitive but

nevertheless as deep as the fountains of life itself. That is what makes 'Job' a greater book than say, "Samson Agonistes", and that is why the simplicity of Doughty's "Adam Cast Forth" is equal to, if not greater than, either Shaw or Milton.

Doughty in his vivid portrayal of Adam's ordeal, then, is following the Semitic way, and he follows it even in the sphere of theology. In Orthodox Christianity, Adam's sin is unpardonable, except through Jesus Christ. "I am the way; I am the Life", says Christ, and Adam and Eve cannot be 'living' because Christ has not yet sacrificed himself on the cross. That is not the Jewish or Islamic view. For them 'Adam' has sinned and the Sin has its terrible effects, but the door of God is always open. The Jewish Haggadists taught, for example, that the deadly effect of 'Sin' can be removed by repentance. Hence Adam was represented as the type of the penitent sinner. The emphasis on his ordeal meant, not only the gravity of its cause, but also the possibility of a cure. Thus the Rabbis of the 2nd century and the book of "Vitae Adae et Evae" describe Adam's period of fasting, praying and bathing in the river,(1) for forty-seven days or twice seven weeks. When winter came, they say that the shortening of days after "Tishri" was taken by Adam as a renewal of God's wrath, but when after winter the days grew longer, he offered a sacrifice. In another Rabbinical view, nearer still to the story in "Adam Cast Forth", Adam was afraid of darkness, for it recalled sin and fear, so the Lord taught him to make fire(2). In the morning when the sun rose again, Adam was said

(1) See the stages exactly reproduced in "Adam Cast Forth".

(2) For example see the book of Enoch (60: 17-21) and Jubilees (2: 1) and the Psalms, where all the phenomena of Nature, frost, rain and the like are represented as Spirits or Angelic powers, thus to be linked with "Adam Cast Forth".

to have offered thanks in which, as the Chorus and Angels do in "Adam Cast Forth", the Angels joined him. Their song is said to be the Sabbath Psalm (Psalm xcii). In these Rabbinical sources, Adam is credited with the authorship of a number of Psalms (V, XIX, XXIV andXCII). Probably from the Haggadah comes also the reference in "Adam Cast Forth" to the change in Adam's stature which accompanied his ordeal ("Adam Cast Forth" pages 21 and 27), "His body reached from earth to heaven . . . . before sin caused him to sink" (Haggai 12a Sanh.). With this stress on Man's ordeal goes the stress on his 'repentance' and on God's 'acceptance' of his repentance, which gradually changes the scene from one of utter destitution to one which looks forward for a better future and ends on a note of homely matrimonial happiness. When Adam asks how they could be saved, the Voice answers that only by "obedience". In the Vision future generations are said to be happy in peace when they obey God, and in war and strife when they disobey Him. There is nothing at all about the crucifixion. This tallies with the findings in our first chapter, where Doughty's Christianity is shown to differ considerably from the ways of the main Christian denominations, be they Catholic, Orthodox or Protestant. The only Christian denominations, though not recognized by the majority as such, which agrees with the Jewish Islamic insistence on the possibility of repentance and personal salvation, through ways other than Christ's sacrifice, is Unitarianism. We have shown Doughty to be a Unitarian, for whom Christ was man and not God. For him Christ was important, but did not have the unqualified importance of the earlier story of Adam and Eve. Doughty would not shock Orthodox Christian feelings with a

direct unqualified statement, but what he has left out in "Adam Cast Forth" is in a way as important and as significant as what he has brought in, and the feelings of astonishment and uneasiness of a Christian reader reading "Adam Cast Forth" for the first time are thus accounted for. Instead of the "Son of God" which every Christian would expect, Doughty has used "Sons of God" ("Adam Cast Forth": page 30) which is a reference to the angels, and a direct translation of the Hebrew "Beni Elohim" (Job 2: 1 and Genesis 6: 4 and I Kings 22: 19 and 22). In the Notes it is clear that Doughty has used some of the writings of St. Paul, but there is no reference to St. Paul's most important passages on Adam, where Adam is linked with Christ (Romans 5: 15-21 and I Corinthians 15: 12-21 and 45-49). Thus it is clear that the Hebraic influences on "Adam Cast Forth" are much more important and far-reaching than both the Islamic and Christian influences. That explains why the motto of the poem is appropriately taken from a Jewish source - the Book of Ezekiel. The quotation is appropriate from many different angles, for it recalls one of the oldest and most primitive Semitic notions of life as being fused in all nature. When the sky and the Ocean and the Earth were created life was immanent in them as much as was later on to show in plants, birds, fishes, animals and Man. Man thus becomes the perfect realization and the highest consummation of all creation. The story of "Adam Cast Forth" thus becomes the story of all creation. The motto is thus linked with the passages on Creation within the poem, and the story is told by the poet, not only to his fellow-men, but also to "the trees . . . ." (See the Motto "Adam Cast Forth").

Even though "Adam Cast Forth" is deliberately non-Christian, it could not possibly escape Christian influences on its texture and its subject-matter. We have already given one or two examples of Christian influence infiltrating among the various more abundant examples of Hebraic influences. In dealing with the manuscript Notes we have discussed words borrowed from St. Mark and St. Luke and St. Paul. In the discussion on the Angels we have referred to the Revelation of St. John as a main source. Another example for the use of the Christian parts of the Holy Book as corroborating elements is the episode, one of the most beautiful parts of the poem, of Adam and Adama purifying themselves and reinvigorating their body and mind in the waters of the pool. In St. John (5: 4) an angel comes down and purifies the waters, which henceforth acquire the mystical power of washing the sins and curing the ills of human beings. But these influences of the New Testament are generally speaking minor embellishments. There is hardly any true or major influence of the New Testament on "Adam Cast Forth". The Christian sources of the poem lie rather outside the Gospels. There is, for example, the early Anglo-Saxon rendering of "Genesis" formerly attributed to Caedmon the medieval monk, who has always been one of Doughty's favourites. (1) Caedmon's was said to be inspired and Doughty's is calculated and deliberate, but both poets admit no sophistication, no abstraction, and no theorisation. Both are simple, sincere and direct in portraiture and in expression, and the striking similarity between them is certain proof of Doughty's success in bridging the gulf of centuries

(1) See for example "Mansoul" Part V. In Doughty's time Caedmon was believed to be the author. Modern doubts of his authorship are here irrelevant, and the division of the poems attributed to him is here irrelevant. Most probably, Doughty read it all, in the edition containing the Latin, the Anglo-Saxon, and the English translation by B. Thorpe, all contained in the same volume (London, 1832)

to a more primitive age and a more pristine way of expression to fulfil his ends. The Manuscript Notes show that he had studied the Anglo-Saxon Genesis fully, and there are sometimes striking similarities between the text of Caedmon and the text of Doughty's poem. In both there are frequent references to the "Glory-King" of hosts, to the "All-powerful", and more strikingly to "the partners twain" and "the helpmate", and nearer still is the term "Mid-Earth". Simple sentences like, "There were like unto Angels" might be directly borrowed by Doughty from any version of "Genesis" but Caedmon seems to be the nearest source. Alike also are Doughty's hymns to God and Caedmon's hymns to the "Father of men", both in texture and spirit. But the most striking similarity in text is possibly the line with the exquisite simplicity and effortless art of which Professor Barker Fairley was very much impressed,

"And God was angry with us"

which is taken word by word from Caedmon's simple story where Adam uses exactly the same words. (1)

Another very important Christian influence comes from the various books on the story of Adam and Eve discovered and recovered from the East by European travellers and edited and translated by the Orientalists in the course of the Nineteenth Century. (2) Of these the most important and apparently the most influential in the case of "Adam Cast Forth" in the famous Ethiopic Book of Adam. (3) The book is undoubtedly of Christian

(1) Caedmon's Chapter XIII, line 97. (Page 46 in Thorpe's translation).

(2) See the list in Hasting's "Dictionary of the Bible", the article on "Adam, Books of," i, 37-8.

(3) "The Book of Adam and Eve" also called "The Conflict of Adam and Eve with Satan", by the Rev. S.C. Malan, D.D. : London & Edinburgh: 1882.

origin and as such unlike Doughty's poem connects Adam with Christ and Adam's cave with Golgotha. Its long story goes through four books, but it is only the first book which has a direct bearing on "Adam Cast Forth". That first book gives the story of Adam from the fall until his death. There are so many points of similarity that it is impossible to suppose that Doughty had not used the book or at least known it either in its German edition by Dillman, published in Leipzig, 1851, or more probably in its English translation referred to above. Throughout the book for example the Archangel Michael is called the "Angel-of-the Face". In Chapter I (Page 12), for example, the book tells of a "sea of water", to the North of the Garden, which washes sin and makes men clean and white. On Page 2, it tells how God instructed Man to dwell in a cave in the rock called the "Cave of Treasures". In Chapter II, it tells how God sent "His Word" to help Adam and Eve in their distress. In Chapter V (Page 7) Eve prays to God not to afflict Adam with Death, but take her life also. In Chapter VII (Pages 8 and 9) and later in Chapter XIX (Page 20) God pities them and orders the beasts not to hurt them. In Chapter XI Adam and Eve in the darkness of the cave cannot see each other and are afraid. In Chapter XIII (Pages 14 - 15) God explains to them that the Darkness of the Night will remain only for twelve hours and no more. In Chapters XXII, and XXI, the sun is so hot on Adam and Eve that both sweat heavily. In Chapter XXIII, Adam says to Eve, "Gird thyself and I also will gird myself" and then they pray together. In Chapter XXIV (Page 24) they offer sacrifices and "God sent from His presence a fire that consumed their offering." In Chapter XXV (Page 25) there is the

pattern followed so well in "Adam Cast Forth" of the alternation between punishment and succour and between desert and oasis, and there is the prayer, "Yet of Thy goodness, O God, do not away with me altogether; but be favourable to me every time I die, and bring me to life." In Chapter XXVI, Adam and Eve indulge in mournful comparisons of their past bliss in Eden with their present hard toil on Earth. In many a situation Satan appears as an Angel and tries to deceive Adam, which is admittedly nowhere in Doughty. So when the real angel comes in Chapter XXVII, Adam in doubt enquires of God, exactly as he does in "Adam Cast Forth", and is reassured. In Chepter XXXVI, a Cherub is shown to guard with a sword the Gate of Eden. Chapters XXXVI to XLi are full of the mention of "figs", and Chapters XLiii to XLiX of "fire". In chapter Li, Satan (as in Doughty's opening of the poem) is <u>bound</u> by God, but unlike Doughty's poem, is shown to Adam and Eve as their eternal enemy. All these and many more are points of similarity between that Eastern Christian archaic book and Doughty's "Adam Cast Forth".

Yet there are more similarities still between "Adam Cast Forth", and the Notes provided by Dr. Malan, the translator of the Book at the end of his English Edition. In the Notes (Page 210) Dr. Malan says that Adam and Eve were "seven years in the Garden of Eden, tilling and keeping it". In another Note on the same page he quotes (Jubiae, Page 270) as saying that "Man was as high as a palm-tree.....". On the same page again he refers to the controversies between "Simon Magus and Simon Peter arguing about Adam's blindness in Paradise before the fall. "On Page 211 he says that in the Ethiopic "Kufale" Adam "offered a sweet-smelling sacrifice of incense and other spices at sunrise",

and quotes from the Talmud and from Josephus "that all animals spake the same language as Adam and Eve before their fall" and that is how the serpent was able to speak easily to Eve. Dr. Malan's note (17) on Page 213 refers also to the minority opinion of Rabbinical Commentators who explain the extraction of Eve from the body of Adam in the way we have referred to in our discussion of the Hebraic sources. Note (27) on Page 217 also tells us that in the Midrath, Satan is called "Sammael".

Yet in spite of all these points of similarity between the "Ethiopic Book of Adam" and "Adam Cast Forth", the angle from which Doughty approaches his legend is fundamentally different from this essentially Christian book. If we bear this point in mind, and approach the two works, we will quickly notice the tense atmosphere in both and the pitiful loss of Adam and Eve, in the vast void, between reality and deception, between God and his angels on one side, and death and the devil on the other, between safety and danger, between the oasis and the desert, an unmistakable spiritual kinship between the two works. Doughty must have used the Ethiopic Book of Adam and Eve in Malan's translation.

Then we come to what might be called the "literary" influences on "Adam Cast Forth", not because their influence is only literary, but because they themselves are pure literature. To make the point clearer, let us have an example from the sources we have already discussed, in the difference between Massoudi's influences and the influence of the "Bible". From the first source Doughty could take nothing but the skeleton of the legend, but from the second he was able to squeeze what was made into the flesh and the blood, and the spirit and the manner, in the whole

and in the parts, of his poem. While the first was a source only of information, of subject-matter, the second was all influential. To the Bible as a literary source, let us add another which we have already discussed - the Genesis in Caedmon. In that same way there are other literary influences decidedly secondary to the Bible, but important all the same.

"Adam Cast Forth" must be linked with the successive works setting sacred Christian lore in literary forms throughout the Middle Ages and the Renaissance. It is possibly going a bit too far if we bring in, in this particular case, St. Augustine's "De Civitate Dei" (Book XIV, Chapters 11 - 18, are relevant here) or Dante's "Divina Commedia", although there is no doubt that Doughty knew them well. Further still, though possible as influences, are the various Medieval Compendia like St. Avitus' "De Mosaicae Historiae Gestis". But nearer and more probable are the various dramatic versions of Medieval and Renaissance times, which had the story of the fall and redemption as their central theme. In Medieval and Renaissance literature, as it was certainly with Doughty, the dramatic form was second in importance only to the epic form, and "sacred plays", or as they were called in Italy "Sacre Rappresentatzione", on Adam and Eve were abundant. As an example take the Latin play called "Adamus Exul" of Hugo Grotius (1601). It is possible that Doughty knew this play either in the original or in translation. Notice how near its title is to that of "Adam Cast Forth", and remember that Scaliger, one of Doughty's revered authors, had praised Grotius when both were working for the new Renaissance Humanism against the Old Scholastic and Catholic despotism. Remember also that Milton

had known Grotius and had possibly been influenced by him. Again let us cite the "Adamo" of Giovanni Battista Andreini (1613), which Doughty could have read in the original. The title of "Adam Cast Forth" again recalls another possible but not certain link with Vondel's "Adam in Banishment" (1664). It is possible that Doughty's travels in Holland, and his learning of "Hollandish", might have led him to read this Dutch play.

On the English side of the same strain, we have already referred to the famous Twelfth Century Benedictine Anglo-Norman Christmas play on "Adam", where the first stage direction calls him, like "Adam Cast Forth", "the-Adam", and where an "angel with a radiant sword is put at the gate of Paradise", when Adam and Eve are driven out of it, and where the interchange of drama and hymns, of acting and singing, is similar to that of "Adam Cast Forth". In all probability Doughty himself must have wanted his poem to be linked with that tradition of "sacred drama", which took roots in Italy, and travelled to France and England to flourish there in the mystery and miracle plays of the Fifteenth Century. Remember that he calls his poem a "Sacred play", and divides it into "songs", and remember that the period of the miracle and mystery plays, across the years from Chaucer to Spenser, is the heart of Doughty's golden period of English language and literature. If the "Old Testament" lies at the basis of these mystery and miracle plays, and naturally of Doughty's poem, if the skeleton of "Adam Cast Forth" being Arabian is new to English Literature, we are certain that the "<u>form</u>" of "Adam Cast Forth" owes much to that tradition. As if the journey of the Hebrews, and the books of Ezekiel, Job and Jeremiah, were simplified into a journey of

two weary way-farers travelling from one hardship to another in the simple straight-forward way of the mystery plays, guided by the Voice of God from above, and attacked by the hardships of life and the Devil from below until they reach their haven - all interspersed by the singing of hymns and psalms.

But with the Bible and the mystery and miracle plays we should not forget the other literary sources that have made the poetry of Doughty what it actually is. The authors of Doughty's golden age of English language and literature, far away as they seemingly are from Adam and Eve, cannot be left out even in this discussion of the sources of "Adam Cast Forth". It is always difficult, if not impossible to pin down any usage of a word or a phrase or a clause in Doughty as being borrowed from this or that author. Yet we are able by the help of his manuscript Notes to locate the actual sources of some of these in "Adam Cast Forth". We have maintained and I hope we have proved that the Bible is his main source of diction and vocabulary. Still we were able to give an example where Spenser's poetry was the source. To it let us add Chaucer, whose construction "It am I that ....." (See line 1736 of the Knight's Tale), strange to the modern ear, is used by Doughty in "Adam Cast Forth". It is not thus illogical to maintain that English poetry of the Medieval and Early Renaissance is at the back of the texture of Doughty's poetry in "Adam Cast Forth". The influence, for example, of the lyric poetry of Spenser, Drayton and Campion, on the exquisite lyricism of the joyful parts of "Adam Cast Forth" is second only to that of the "Old Testament".

The the greatest of all who tackled the Adam and Eve

theme in the world of literature is decidedly John Milton. Coming at the time he did, and rendering it in the monumental way he did, Milton has certainly embodied all the Medieval and Renaissance fragments into the great edifice of an epic and has certainly made it difficult, if not impossible, for any poet following him to try to tackle it. "The fact that they are trespassing over the 'wide demesne' of Milton should keep poets off this ground," says a critic. (1) Indeed there is no escape from Milton in any discussion of the story of Adam and Eve, and if we cannot escape him, it is inconceivable that Doughty did not have Milton's work in mind when he was writing "Adam Cast Forth". Milton looms so large that any poem tackling the story of Adam and Eve, be it based on Hebraic, Arabian, or Latin or Italian or English sources, must have recourse to him, and be judged in comparison to his work. Doughty seems to have realised that and to have started his poem exactly from that point. Situations like this occur and recur always in Doughty. One could even say generally, though generalizations are always dangerous, that Doughty's actions are all a series of reactions. We have already explained his attitude towards the Orthodox Christian conception of Adam and Eve. The same attitude is taken in the case of the Miltonic Adam and Eve. Doughty's way is to exclude, to resist, to try not to be lured to write his poem under the mighty Miltonic canopy.

In more than one point their characters were very much alike, their temperament similar and their ways the same. Even Doughty's situation when he started to write "Adam Cast Forth" was similar to another in Milton's life. After the Herculean effort of writing his two great epics of "Paradise Lost and "Paradise

(1) The Edinburgh Review: October 1909. volume CCX. page 384.

Regained", Milton turned to write "Samson Agonistes". After the not-less-exhaustive effort of writing "Arabia Deserta" and "The Dawn in Britain", Doughty started to write "Adam Cast Forth". The shorter, but not less noble, dramatic form seemed to suit best the relaxation and leisure of a disciplined epic poet after the all-consuming effort of epic writing. The discipline of drama, its shortness and concentration and precision coupled with the dignity and seriousness which that form is capable of providing seems to have been an overwhelming attraction to their serious, concentrated, calculating type of mind.

For both, for Milton in "Samson Agonistes", and to a less extent to Doughty in "Adam Cast Forth", drama meant a blend of all those elements inherited from the classical beginnings of the form in Ancient Greece, and the later rekindling of its flame in Medieval and Renaissance Christian Italy and England. Although the Greek element is more apparent in Milton's "Samson Agonistes" it still faintly exists in Doughty's "Adam Cast Forth". The "Voice" in "Adam Cast Forth", for example, repeatedly plays the role of the classical deus-ex-machina. The Chorus evidently follows Greek Drama in its various roles of sometimes playing an active part in the play, of sometimes mediating between the protagonist and the supernatural powers, and of representing throughout a third force, which though always neutral, sometimes wavers to this side and sometimes to the other; sometimes represents the audience and sometimes represents the author; sometimes disappears and sometimes relays the events to us. Again in the Chorus we notice the blend of the essentially classical strophe and anti-strophe of Greek Drama, with the essentially Hebraic ways of Jewish Psalmody, and the later Christian development of the choir and its antiphonal hymn singing, its introits and responsoria and its carols.

Yet with all the similarity of temperements, of situations and of sources, Milton's influence on "Adam Cast Forth" is essentially negative rather than positive. Milton necessarily uses Genesis as his main source for the story of Adem and Eve, and for his account of the creation ("Paradise Lost", Book IV), and for the names and characters in his demonology (Book I) as much as Doughty does in a lower key. Milton uses Chapter I of Ezekiel in the description of his God the Father (Book VI, 749 ff.) while Doughty has dispersed with any frontal presence and description of the Supreme Being. The only possible link between Milton and Doughty in this sphere, is the mention of the sphere itself, the "Empyrhean" ("Adam Cast Forth" Page) although the word might equally be taken from any Post-Aristotelian commentator. Another is the inescapable similarity between Milton's Satan and Doughty's "Sammael", though Doughty's deliberate usage of another name could probably be a conscious attempt to avoid the Miltonic web. But the most important difference is Doughty's dropping of the Orthodox Christian Explanation of the story of Adam and Eve as the first part of a cycle to be completed by the Crucifixion and the Regaining of "Paradise". While the "Son" is so prominent in "Paradise Lose", his name is not mentioned at all in "Adam Cast Forth". While the future history of mankind in its Christian conception is given by Milton in Michael's prophecy, Doughty's vision of future human life as shown to Adam includes war and peace, the depths of human degradation and the heights of human nobility, but includes not one simple reference to Christ and His sacrifice for human Redemption.

Milton is as eccentric and as individual as Doughty is, but Milton still takes as his background the Old and New Testament and the later Medieval and Renaissance Christian Apologia in their

cyclic treatment of Christ the Son-versus-the-Devil at first and their cyclic linking of Adam the human sinner with Christ the God-in-Man paying for and atoning for that sin. Milton's epic is still generally Christian, and Christian theology in him is prominent. Doughty uses the Christian sources from the New Testament to the Medieval theologians and the Renaissance dramatists, but drops completely the theo ogical scaffoldings on which their works were based. "Adam Cast Forth" in spirit and theme goes to the earlier Pre-Christian Semitic ideas of God, the Devil and Man.

God is ever-present in "Adam Cast Forth" and the air is full of Him, but His presence is felt and not touched. What is touched and practised are His powers as shown in His angels: His Voice, His cherubims, His works. In this Doughty has definitely one advantage over Milton for he has prudently not tried to give a direct portrayal of the Supreme Being. Although the oneness of God is as clear as humanly possible, his diverse qualities and different abilities are rendered through His angelic agents, and their presence is felt as it should be in a happy idyll, even on the last page of the poem.

The Devil on the other hand is also one by himself and not one in a council and the insistence on his Oneness seems to be as deliberate as, if not equal to, the insistence on God's unity. Appropriately the Devil is never confronted with God, first because God Himself never comes on the stage, and secondly because the Devil cannot equal Him. The Devil is shown active in his aggression, but always in reality a negative being. What he does is always in reaction to something God or His Angels have done. Even before Adam was created, he seems to have been

playing the bully (even this, I say .... ere that Adam was.) and when "Adam Cast Forth" starts he still is.

In the poem Sammael occupies the first five pages. Likewise begins "Adamus Exul" with a long soliloquy of Satan which is both despair and defiance and a similar determination to ruin Adam. In "Adam Cast Forth" he disappears never to return except in casual references like the one where he is mentioned by Adam, as part of past memories as "Satan, lord of the Bohu's vast Abyss" and the other time when the Chorus (Page 50) again between brackets tells us that the couple had their feet sliding "(For Satan maketh to slide their feet)". That is all there is of the Devil in "Adam Cast Forth". It would not, I think, be too bold to consider that last reference to Satan a slip of the mind by this ever-careful poet, while the earlier reference is part of the memories of events which had happened before the poem began. Thus Sammael is there at the beginning of the poem to let the wheel begin to turn, and never to join in turning it himself. Thus he is deprived of much of the importance and consequently of much of the charm and magic of Milton's "Satan". Although his words and the setting recall the Satan of "Paradise Lose", Sammael seems to me to be nearer the Medieval Stage Devil in his early development before the comic element was all over him. Here also is a very faint and light strain of comedy in him. His first words, the first words in the poem, are uttered when he is "bound by the chains of Harisuth", yet they go:

> "Am I not that great Sammael, he that was
> Before the stars?"

Then "the hills rebellow the dread voice of Satan" says the stage direction, but the echoes seem echoes in a void. Later follows his blind challenge to God and his promise to lead astray what he calls Heaven's "Blind Works". Gabriel, he says, has just flown

by him and: "Quoth Gabriel tremble? Sammael tremble, ha!
I tremble not at all: I Heaven's Brow fear?
And then a faint note of comparison of himself with Adam:

Sammael fear Adam's Punishment; I fear Death!

brings out the realities of his situation, where despair reigns supreme, and where even fearful Death, which is one way out of despair, open to Adam's seed, is closer to him;

I would embrace thee, O grisly goodly Death!
Should not these chains, this raging immane Grief,
This Gulf of Exiled State, then from me pass?

lines which are reminiscent of Chaucer in goodly, Spenser in grisely, and Milton in "the raging immane Grief", and the "Gulf of Exiled State". Yet that faint note of despair leaves place to the prominent quality of Sammael's character, and that is 'challenge' of God and God's works:

Tumbled the sharded mountains up my foot,
From the low Plain; on heaps, I spurned them thus.
Such horns then and high places of Earth's dust,
I, for my pastime, overthrew again,
When I was wroth. These ruins of hard rocks,
My fingers crumble, as a little dust.

Then follows the old ancient explanation of earthquakes, floods and volcanic eruptions as the work of the Infernal Powers to disturb the peace of the land, in their anger:

In my displeasure, oft-time mine hot breath
Kindled the Earth beneath: then flowed forth rocks;
The hills dissolved were as an honey-comb.
In shallow of my palm, I caught up oft
Deep's bitter Flood; and whelmed upon dry land!

Then follows a beautiful piece of Doughty's verse at its best on God's gradual creation of the various beings to the last crowning of His creation in "Adam", and at that Satan returns to his perpetual state of "defiance":

Is this, Blind Heavens, the Crown of Thy proud works!

But Adam was "Like fledgling bird,
Naked and simple, fleshling Adam was;"

and the "Least, the Whisperer Hanash" sufficed to deceive him,

and God was angry;

" ..... Whence fallen is on them both,
Aye, and in them, on their Seed, Thine hasty Curse."

Satan says he could pity Adam, but he cannot have:

"Pity in this high perduring adamant breast,
Which received none."

And he tells of Heaven's Anger, in the stormy Sarser raging and the passage of a long time, after which he sees the "strong Angel of His PR"SENCE", passing down to earth, so "I will gird me, with a dark cloud and watch" and then He and we begin to watch, and Satan does not appear at all, as if he was never there or was never really meant to play an important role. Thus he is only an introductory note, and he does not play in "Adam Cast Forth" any really significant role. Why then have him at all? If "Adam Cast Forth" starts exactly with the arrival of the Angel-of-His-Presence, which Sammael says he has seen, going down to see Adam, why does Doughty bring in as a Prologue such a major factor as Satan in the Story of the Fall that we expect him in vain to have an active part in the forthcoming events? Although this could be a grievous fault in a real play, and although we should be ready in the spirit of make-belief in closet drama to allow the author many licences, yet we feel that there must be a reason for it. Probably Doughty thought this was a necessary glance further back along the road in which Adam travels from Harisuth to his earthly mansion. Because the progress of the poem is from suffering and despair towards joy and contentment and happiness, Doughty must have decided to

give us in Sammael the extreme point of complete despair, the point of no return. Sammael then is the heart of darkness and Adam when we meet him shares only a part, and then travels gradually to the light of day.

Harisuth thus, as Doughty's manuscripts show, could be divided into the "Dark Harisuth" of Sammael, and the "Light Harisuth" of Adam. Sammael thus becomes not a simple prologue, but as it were the lowest point of despair, the point of departure, the criterion with which we and Adam himself could check the later steps of Adam's ascent towards the Mountain-of-His-Mercy. In contrast to the Heavenly guidance given to Adam and to us, of the difficult journey, we are wanted to remember the dark beginnings of the poem in Sammael. When the sufferings of the pair are too much to bear, they and we, are supposed to compare these, as Sufferings of expiation, with the earlier Satanic hopeless sufferings. Hopeless suffering seems to be outside the pattern preordained for Adam, while all Adam's suffering is thus explained and shown to be part of God's mercy. Sammael's part is Hell, Adam's journey in the wilderness becomes a journey through purgatory and the end is shown to be his earthly paradise. But all this happens here on this earth. This is a very important and very significant departure from Milton. In Doughty Adam and Eve and all the events of the play are on this side of the gates of Eden, and we must always remember the difference between the two sides. Milton's Adam and Eve are to a certain given period on the right side of the fence, while Doughty's have already left it behind their backs. The significance of that is much further reaching than the simple difference of situation. It certainly is all-inclusive, and its consequences corroborate with and strengthen the fundamental difference in outlook which we have noticed before. For Milton

followed the Christian writers in drawing the first man, from the first as a perfect man, not only in stature, but also in knowledge. Those who sought in Adam and Eve an innocence associated with childness, and linked the earliest with the most primitive, the most naive, and thought of their beauty as the beauty of pure savage Nature were in for a shock. The Christian Medieval and Renaissance writers from St. Athanasius to St. Augustine thought of Adam and Eve as beings created in 'the image of God,' who would never, but for Sin, have lacked in anything. Because they were never young and they were never immature or undeveloped. Dante for example, writes of them thus :

" ... ... O thou, the only fruit
That came forth ripe and perfect." (Paradiso:26, 83)

Milton follows suit and gives them a majesty all their own, and a sophistication that makes them nearly superhuman. They were created full-grown and perfect. (1) Although Cardinal Newman complained that Milton# treated our first parents with intolerable freedom, yet generally speaking the basis of Milton's Adam and Eve followed the Christian tradition. Eve is "The fairest of her daughters" (P.L. IV, 324) and Adam is "the goodliest man of men since born" (P.L. IV, 323).

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(1) See C.S. Lewis' "Preface to Paradise Lost" 1942 p.112

But with Blake and later the Romantics there came a point of view of Milton's "Paradise Lost" which was a revolution by itself. Equal to the great admiration they had for Milton's Satan they started to attack and denigrate Milton's portrayal of Adam and Eve. In their sophistication they saw a facade which was hollow inside, and in their majesty they discovered something which was for them non-human. That was the opinion prevalent in the mid-Nineteenth Century when Doughty was in his formative years. Matthew Arnold, for example, maintained that Milton's theology was a barrier against the understanding and appreciation of his poetry, and he recommended that "Paradise Lost" be read in fragments. Another view against Milton's Adam and Eve was the result of the theory of evolution, which would make of contempory man the most developed and of early man, be they one couple or more, more steeped in inexperience, ignorance and savagery.

Now "Adam Cast Forth" is alien to the early Christian traditions, and consequently dispenses with christian theology. Thus there is in "Adam Cast Forth" a preoccupation with the actual experience, and an insistence of the material journey and its difficulties of storms, weather, hunger and thirst, and fatigue, that neither Adam nor Eve, nor for that matter the reader of their legend is allowed to rest and drift into the luxury of theoretical and theological argumentations. When joy comes

with the water, fruits and roses, the greatness of the suffering makes the depth of the joy actually real and touching. Yet we feel with Doughty's "Adam and Eve" a simplicity and innocence which we do not feel in Milton's couple. 'Father,' 'Spouse-father,' 'Helpmate,' and 'Wife,' in "Adam Cast Forth" indicate a more natural, more matter-of-fact relationship between the two than Milton's 'Fair Consort,' 'My Author and Disposer,' 'Daughter of God and Man,' that we find in "Paradise Lost" "Adam Cast Forth" is deliberately played on a lower ~~key~~, but no less great nor less effective, key. It is not only that this is a short play, while Milton's was a grand epic on the grand scale. Doughty's couple do not fly or hover, they walk and suffer hardships, and enjoy the few beautiful moments like us. They are more human. Although Satan comes at the beginning, and God, through his Voice is everywhere, "Adam Cast Forth" is a human play, on a human level about human beings. Thus Doughty, for example, dispenses with the various Miltonic councils, and allows no allegorical flights of thought or imagination. He allows one case of prophecy but even that is made an indivisible part of the present. There are dreams but they are never allowed to dominate the scene or to occupy our minds. Since Samael after filling the stage, departs/there is nothing but the Voice above, the Chorus aside, and the couple always in the centre of the scene. All

All is focussed on Adam and Eve from the time Adam appears till the end of the poem, and the scene with them in the centre is always there even if the background changes. There is no alternation, as in Milton, of scenes in Hell, or Heaven or Earth. Neither does the action begin in a mid-point, as in "Paradise Lost," but it begins at the beginning and then proceeds in a progressive development of time and action, and the story thus unfolded is given to us not through narrations, but sometimes through the reporting of the Chorus, and mainly through the action of the protagonists themselves. Thus the whole poem revolves around the actual experiences of Adam and Eve. All action is an exchange in rotation between toil and rest, distress and gladness, despair and hope. Within the framework of an ever-forward faring journey, the two elements rotate and in rotation hold our breath.

Milton was indeed in Doughty's mind when he wrote "Adam Cast Forth." But the same thing cannot be said of the more modern poetical attempts at writing on our first parents. It is impossible that Doughty had read Longfellow, or known Lawrence Binyon's poetry.

"Travels in Arabia Deserta" was a two-sided contribution. On one side it was a contribution to knowledge and to Orinetalism, and on the other side, it was a contribution to English literature. Before attempting to write it, Doughty had himself master of both fields. So the result was an unqualified success. "The Dawn in Britain" was also as great an effort and as perfect an achievement in its own way as "Arabia Deserta" was. From his readings and his experiences and his imagination, Doughty was able to weave anew the story of early Britain, and sing the glories of his race in those ancient times. And with his vast knowledge of the past, and experiences of the simple primitive human life, it was not difficult for him to portray an authentic picture of our earliest parents in "Adam Cast Forth". In all these works he was dealing with something he knew and touched, even if it is to us so far away, and in his works so new and fresh.

The long travels of Doughty, far away from England, and his complete isolation when he started to write and his deliberate reaction against and ignoring of the society, the language, the literature and the everyday life of his times, must have been an asset rather than a liability in these works. His roots, not unnaturally, went deep into the England of his young days before the reaction started, and on these he would logically base all his knowledge of the present and his attitude towards the age. But even these roots went deep not in a modern industrial world, but into the soil of Suffolk and East Anglia, which were, as we have already shown, linked more with the Britain of the past than with the Industrial Britain of the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries.

Doughty's family and class were moreover, again as we have already shown, a dying generation, rather looking back to the past than looking forward to the future. This was no age for the landed gentry, or the scholarly priest-squires.

One feeling which the passage of time could not and does not obliterate and of which the new Britain could not be less tenacious than the old, was the "love of Country". In Suffolk and East Anglia in particular that feeling was as permanent as their geograghical situation on the East Coast of England, facing the European Shore, from where the invaders of Britain, past, present and future could and did come. Nor were the people of the Eastern Counties ever allowed to forget it. In Doughty's father's time, the shadow of Napoleon loomed large across the Channel. In Doughty's childhood people still remembered him, and when the blurred image of the great leader seemed to revive in the new Emperor of the French, a slight provocation was enough to put the people of East England and Suffolk on guard. The whole atmosphere of Doughty's Native County was vibrant with memories of Invasions. People were always quick to smell danger, and quick to retaliate. That was always an East Anglian tradition, and a Doughty family tradition, alive when Doughty was young and tried to join the Navy, and alive also when Doughty left on his travels in 1870. For years he travelled abroad, and for years he lived with other peoples in other lands. And all over the years that feeling for his country and his race remained. It went even deeper, and its effect became stronger.

It is possible that, if Doughty had stayed at home and joined

in the joys and disappointments, the hopes and the frustrations of life in England, he would have changed; the feeling would probably have subsided, and Doughty and his works would have been different. In far lands and among alien peoples, Doughty's feelings for his country and race became unnaturally strong and certainly 'distorted' because the perspective could not remain like the normal perspective of a man living among his people. When he was back his isolation from everyday life made the distortion greater and the feelings unduly heightened. It is useful in this context to compare the situation here with that of Milton, whose feelings of patriotism, and whose pride in Country and race were no less deeper or stronger than those of Doughty. Yet because Milton came back quickly and because he joined in the see-saw of his time and experienced the ups and downs and tasted the successes and the failures, and knew at first hand the weaknesses as well as the strong points of his race and people, he certainly arrived at a saner view and sounder sense of patriotism than that of Doughty. All Doughty wanted in England or France or Italy, was only the isolated comfort of his study. Italy thus was better and more suitable for him than England, and if it were not for health reasons and family reasons, he would not have come to spend the early years of the Twentieth Century in South-East England. And there is probably no poet in the history of English literature, who ever put such a fence round himself, kept so firmly by his stubborn nature and guarded affectionately by a loving wife. Who else living in England after 1870 could escape hearing about

Bernard Shaw and Thomas Hardy and "The Dynasts"? (1)

In 1908, "Adam Cast Forth" was published, and Doughty felt himself free for a while. One small point of contact with the English Contemporary Scene had in the meantime grown out of his publications, and I do not mean Garnett, whose relations with Doughty seem to have been centred around Doughty's literary works only. The volumes of "Arabia Deserta" and more important than these, the serial volumes of "The Dawn in Britain" and the commentaries on them, had made him a reador of a few chosen newspapers, such as "The Times" and "The Morning Post". Doughty was always keen and careful to read the comments of the various literary periodicals on his own work, but that was not in fact a link with the contemporary world because he would read only the cuttings prepared by his wife and children. "The Times" and "The Morning Post" were the only link of this hermit, scholar and poet with the contemporary life of his beloved country.

Now what was the picture drawn by the daily newspapers of the period? Two main topics occupied the pages, one external and one internal. On the International Scene, the most important was the change in Germany. The might of Bismarck's Prussia was now in the ambitious hands of the young Emperor William II. The papers were full of the signs of this potentate's aggressive policy, and his determination on

(1) Later in life Doughty was to know both writers. T.E. Lawrence seems to have introduced Shaw's name to the Doughtys. Doughty borrowed Hardy's gown for the ceremony in which he received the Honorary Ph.Dr. from Oxford. and later presented a copy of "Mansoul" to him.

the rapid expansion of the German Navy. Mahan's books on Sea-Power had led the Emperor to believe passionately in the necessity of a strong Navy. At the time of the Jameson Raid in South Africa (1896) and during the Boer War, in which Doughty's enthusiasm and patriotism were so roused that he wrote and published his collection of poor war poems called "Under Arms" in 1900, William II tried to help the Boer Republics against Britain, but dared not because of the might of the British Navy. Captain Tirpitz was appointed Minister of Marines and naval expansion was started in earnest. A "Navy League" was formed to induce the German Nation to accept the heavy financial burden necessary for building and maintaining a strong Navy. A great programme of shipbuilding was started and accelerated. The Kaiser in the flamboyant manner spoke of "Germany's bitter need of a mighty fleet", and declared that "Neptune's Trident must be in our hands". These were the days of the "mailed fist" and of "Zeppelins".

It was thus that the British felt a great uneasiness and apprehension at the signs of the future conflict, for the command of the Sea was for them the very existence of the Island Nation. The newspapers would not show this, but it is clear now that Britain, and by that I mean those who were in power, was gradually preparing for the future events. Take, for example, the change in Britain's foreign policy just after the death of the old Queen, which later on led to the "Entente Cordiale" with France in 1904, which Doughty must have known about. (See "The Cliffs" Part IV, Page 219: "... que l'Angleterre is made friends with France") but does not seem to have recognised the significance.

In the Navy also there was the same gradual awakening to the danger. In that same year (1904) the Admiralty had a memorandum prepared for the re-distribution of the fleet and the introduction of the nucleus-crew system for ships in reserve, and the withdrawal of obsolete craft from foreign stations. Early in 1905 a committee was established to enquire into the re-organisation of Dockyards. Lord Fisher created the "Dreadnought" which was first launched in 1906, and in his personal letters makes it clear that it was meant to surprise the "Germans" by its superior strength. In 1906 again there was established in Portsmouth a new "Naval War College". In 1907 a service was instituted of Fleet Auxiliaries - ammunition, store-ships, distilling, hospital, fleet repair ships and trawlers as mine-sweepers. In the same year the "Home Fleet" was created to serve in the North Sea, with "Dreadnought" as its flag-ship. In the same year the important step of establishing a wireless telegraphy branch was taken and installations were erected on Admiralty Building. Lord Fisher, whose genius was recognized by all, and who later on was to be recalled from retirement to lead the British Navy in 1914, was at the moment at the Helm. McKenna, Churchill, and above all Haldane, are names that Britain should remember and thank for the later victories in 1918. Haldane in particular was most active. In 1905-1912 his efforts for the reorganisation of British Forces were all important. Early in his period of office the 'Expeditionary Force' was created to fight when needed on the Continent of Europe. The 'General Staff' was created as the brains of the British Army, and then followed the creation of "The Imperial General Staff" to organize and harmonize the armies of the home country and the Dominions. The Officers' Training

Corps was started and the Militia was reorganized. When in 1912 Haldane visited Germany in an attempt to ease the Anglo-German tension, he came back with the conviction that the only course open to Britain was military counter-preparations.

Thus the danger of war in Europe, with Germany as the enemy, was realized early by some of the most prominent politicians of the period, and effective steps were being taken in the right direction. Those few hardly deserve the scathing Swiftian Satire of Doughty's "Cliffs (Part II)". But a casual look - and Doughty's look was certainly casual - could not give satisfaction to ultra-nationalists like Doughty.

For the second important topic in the papers concerned the internal situation. This was a dismal picture of strife, of contention and of factions' quarrels: Divisions among the politicians, dissensions within the ranks of each party, and each party in turn fighting against the other party. Another factor was the arrival on the political scene of a third power, that of the workers, with a few extreme Marxists, and a greater number of socialist trade-unionists. The place where the two major parties and the new recruits fought officially was the Parliament, and to be elected to the Parliament politicians had to return to the people and to woo the electorate. The "Khaki" General Election of 1900 was followed by the 1906 elections, but in 1910 there were two successive elections to decide the issue of Commons-against-Lords, which was certainly the cause of so much tension and the climax of the political strife. A third but no less important factor in the Internal Scene was the agitation

of women for their rights of voting. The Suffragettes were determined to give neither to the Ministers, nor to the Members of Parliament, nor to the people at large, any moment of peace.

For all these factors it seemed as if Britain was on the brink of a civil war, and Doughty's reactions were as strong as you could imagine. All his life a fire of patriotic zeal was very much alive in his heart. His study of the past history of Britain showed clearly the pattern of Invasion repeated once and again from the Continent. Memories of the Napoleonic threat of invasion were, as we have said, still alive, and were re-awakened for a while in his childhood by Napoleon III. Looking at his own past experiences, Doughty could visualize what internal weaknesses in a State could do - the total destruction of the country, the collapse of of the State, the massacre of the people - as soon as the mighty invader descended suddenly on its unprepared unsuspecting victim. When he travelled through France in 1870-1, he avoided Paris because it was devastated in the Franco-Prussian War of 1870, and he saw there at first hand the destruction that comes upon the land invaded by an enemy, and in particular the ways of the Prussian or German Army. When he passed on to Spain, that unfortunate land was in a state of anarchy and civil contention. In North Africa and in Arabia, Doughty himself experienced the taste of danger, of insecurity and of fear and saw the anarchy which results from factions.

Now in 1908 he saw that war was coming to the shores of his beloved England, while its people and apparently its government were in criminal neglect, wasting their precious time and energy in a furious

battle of words in Parliament and in elections, between the various factions. While the "Cliffs" of the English Coast were in danger of invasion by the enemy, the English people were not conscious of the danger, and it was the sacred duty of a "bard" to sound the bugle, as bards have done from immemorial times. But with Doughty nothing was done half-heartedly or on a small scale. A poem was not enough, and a short concentrated pointed work would not do for Doughty. Everything was tried in the grand way; every work displayed all his energy and knowledge and the whole of himself. The result at first was "The Cliffs (A Drama for the Time in Five Parts)". Thus for the first time in Doughty's works we come face to face with the "Present" and its problems. This book, together with its sequel in "The Clouds", is referred to by the critics as the "Prophetic Books". Thus the "future" also is here. But no book written by Doughty could escape the past, either the past of his race or his own past, and in these poems we have them both.

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"The Cliffs" is in "Five Parts"; and it seems that we have been thus warned, for the partition of the book into five 'parts' and not five 'acts' seems to indicate the stronger independence of each part, and the looser links in the interdependence of all, in one work. Each 'part' seems to take up the theme from a different angle rather in the method of Browning's "The Ring and the Book", and the points raised in one part are repeated and repeated in the following parts, until we come to the sudden end which we have always come to expect in Doughty's works. "Part I" seems in its early section to introduce us to Doughty's youth, and to the England he has known then with its reminiscences of the Napoleonic

menace, and its military exploits in The Crimea, and the readiness of its rustic folk to defend their Fatherland.

Hobbe, the old shepherd, could not have been very much older than Doughty himself, and he sprang from the same East Midland soil, with its alertness to danger, its rustic pre-Industrial society, with its poetical nearness to nature, and with its dialect. Born and bred on the East Coast Doughty knew it all, its geography, its archaeological finds, its turbulent history, and its peasant life. It is not far-fetched to suppose that among the shepherds of the East Coast, who in Doughty's childhood had fought near Sevastopol and came back to ruminate and tell of their exploits, there was a real prototype of Hobbe. In drawing the character of "Hobbe", Doughty seems to be standing on a solid ground of facts, part of which certainly comes from his later experiences of shepherd life in Arabia. Old men are talkative, and that must have given Doughty the chance to indulge in his usual extended attempts of mixing past with present and future, of mixing man's everyday life in society with man's consciousness of nature and non-human powers, and of giving detailed accounts of his character's personal and family problems, and at the same time give information on the social and political events of the day.

Although "Hobbe" occupies by himself more than fifteen pages of this section, one feels that the freedom from dramatic shackles is here used for a better use than anywhere else in the work. "Hobbe" is important, for in him are given the foundations upon which the work

is built, and it is his death, like that of Caesar in Shakespeare's play, which is taken up at the beginning of Part II and Part III to provide the necessary links. To some, that link seems to explain the character and in a way justify the importance given to "Hobbe" in Part I. And because "Part II" is a non-human scene of Gods, of Personifications of ideas, and of elves, who hearing Hobbe's prayer before his death, and perceiving his stabbed corpse, are tempted to act. "Hobbe" is thought to have a weird non-human quality in him, which shows itself in the name given to him, and in his poetic utterances which are proof of his obvious communion with nature.

To me his communion with nature, and his poetical qualities, are not enough to justify the image of "Hobbe" as half-human half-elfish, living as it were in the human world of Part I, and in the non-human fairy world of Part II. "Hobbe" springs from Doughty's own experiences, <u>first</u> in the world of living shepherds in High and Low Suffolk, and in the wastes of the Arabian Desert, and <u>secondly</u> in the world of literature in the legends of Robin Hood and in the classical pastoral poetry of Italy, and its continuation in Renaissance England. To me "Hobbe" has his ancestry, his roots and his qualities in the living and the literary world of men. There is nothing weird about him. Consequently he fails as a link between the human and the fairy parts of "The Cliffs". The real link seems to me to be only that of the theme.

Nevertheless Hobbe is wonderfully drawn, but he radiates no rays beyond the limits of Part I, and when he dies, he dies. The fact

that his death is used later in the fairy parts of II and IV appears to me a mere mechanical device which does not wholly succeed. Doughty sees nothing wrong in following a long scene of human action with a longer scene of non-human action. When Doughty deals with "Hobbe", he deals with him and the present moment of artistic creation and poetic expression is to him much more important than what other people might look upon as necessities of dramatic planning or preparations for the logical sequence of future events. The character of Hobbe <u>now</u> is more important to Doughty perhaps than the trimmings and the formations of the whole, and part of the concentrated effort of making the character of "Hobbe" complete, is Doughty's use, for the first time in his poetical works, of "dialect". - Not dialect 'words', for these were part of his repertory of words as long ago as "Arabia Deserta", but 'dialect' complete and perfect as a way of speech.

It would have been too artificial and too eccentric even for Doughty, to make the ordinary people of his day speak in the language of "The Dawn in Britain" or even that of "Adam Cast Forth", and if he did "Hobbe" could not have been as convincing a character as he is. "Dialect" was here a necessity, to make his characters alive and real, to help convey in the surest and easiest way the message, which was to him all important, and because of which the books were written, to the English people of his day. The attitude of his critics in stigmatizing him as a "reactionary" and his poetic diction as "archaic" had nothing to do with this belated adoption of "dialect". Doughty was never the man to bow easily to critical opinion. He always stubbornly stuck to

what he considered the right way. If "archaism" was an essential part of his poetic creed, "Hobbe" would certainly have used the diction of Cuan and Embla, or of Adam and Adama, or at least that of Zeyd and Hirfa. Doughty would never have feared the cries of the critics, if he wanted to use an eccentric unnatural speech. That he uses modern "dialect", means simply that using "dialect" of today was an essential part of his poetic theory.

Those who know only the Doughty of "Travels in Arabia Deserta", of "The Dawn in Britain" and of "Adam Cast Forth", of "The Titans" and of "Mansoul" are bound to be mistaken in their knowledge of Doughty's poetic diction. They would not imagine Doughty as a poet capable of this authentic vigorously realistic reproduction of the dialect of the East Midlands, and would never dream of finding Doughty in the company of Tennyson, Fitzgerald and Barnes who tried their hands at writing in different dialects at a period when Doughty was attacking vehemently what he called "Victorian English" and "Cockney English". We have already dealt with these points in general, but it is in relation to the "Prophetic Books" written at the end of the first decade of the Twentieth Century, that this problem of "dialect" in Doughty must be discussed. Here is Doughty's lasting proof that he was not "archaic", in the sense in which William Morris was archaic, or in the sense in which Gerard Manley Hopkins thought he was - trying to live completely in the past, forgetting the present and its language and reviving the old to the detriment of the contemporary world. Before the publication of "The Cliffs", Garnett seems to have objected to the colloquial parts

of the work, and Doughty's answer, in a letter quoted from by Hogarth, serves as an answer to most of the critics, who thought of him as an 'artificial' poet; he refers to the realism of Elizabethan Drama.

Those who consider Doughty an "archaic" poet, would be quick to quote his early attacks on "Victorian English" and what he called "Cockney English". If he was later to use dialect, then why did he ever attack Cockney English? Or has his attitude changed with the passage of years - against it when he was young, and for it now that he is older and milder? What, anyway, does he mean by "Cockney English"? Does it mean the "colloquial dialect of London" in particular, or is it the derogatory word sometimes used in the harsh critical Reviews against the London poets among the young Romantics of the Nineteenth Century? (1) Now these attacks on "Victorianism" and "Cockney English" were indeed part of the great driving force behind the vigorous style of the "Arabia" and the pristine diction of "The Dawn in Britain", and behind the whole conception of Doughty's great works. It was, even, one of the main guiding factors in his life. That this fundamental basis was abandoned, and his main view has changed is something difficult to believe and impossible to prove. On the contrary, there are signs that he was as adamant as ever, and that he never changed, consciously or unconsciously, his earlier views. His continued complete isolation from the world of men and letters is one sign. His insistence on using practically the same ways he had early developed in the world

(1) For instance, the famous attack by the "Edinburgh Review" on the poetry of Keats.

of language and literature is another. In the "Prophetic Books" themselves we are not far away from Chaucer or Spenser or the Elizabethan authors. "Hobbe" himself is sometimes made to speak in a way which was not the dialect of his day at all. The barrier which Doughty had consciously raised between himself and the literature of his time, was carefully maintained throughout the years until his death. After the publication of "The Cliffs" in 1909, an article in "The Edinburgh Review" (1) linked his poetry with the "New" poetry which aims at "vigour and a certain picturesqueness through being uncouth", and mentioned as his fellow-poets in that trend the names of Meredith, Whitman, Mallarmé and Hardy, and went on to say that, ".... the influence which has acted most potently on the author of "The Cliffs" evidently comes from "The Dynasts" ", and added later on that the discussion of the villagers in "The Cliffs" of the character and doings of "Kempe" is "very Hardyish". Doughty was furious at that and he later made it clear that he did not know anyone called Hardy, that he had not read or heard of "The Dynasts", and would not read it. (2)

This attitude of stubbornness in his old age seems to be emotionally and mentally the same as his attitude in his younger days when he quarrelled more than thirty years before with the Secretary of the Royal Geographical Society and the Syndics of the Cambridge

(1) The Edinburgh Review: Volume CCX. Page 381 : October 1909.

(2) See Hogarth: Page 172.

University Press about his English style before the publication of the "Arabia", when he wrote he would rather have been hanged by the good Sheriff of Mecca than accept the 'modernization' of his style. (1) There does not seem to be any change at all. So this 'new' attention given to the dialect of his age must be consistent with his earlier ideas and attitudes. When he uses "Cockney" today, which he had attacked only yesterday, the two usages of the word must somehow be different in purpose and meaning. What is certainly misleading is Doughty's usage of the words "Cockney" and "Victorian" to mean a certain kind of writing to which he was objecting.

The word "Victorian" would mean everything written in Queen Victoria's reign including his own. The word "Cockney" was no less misleading because Doughty had nothing against the "dialect of London" as such. Short as it is, because the part played by its speaker was necessarily short, the 'Cockney dialect of London' is used by Doughty in "The Cliffs". The Newsboy ("The Cliffs", Part V, Page 258) with his "I've not one piper left", is certainly a Londoner. Nor was his inclusion a slip of Doughty's mind or pen, for in his answer to Garnett, to which we have already referred, he defends his usage of the dialect, by referring to Elizabethan Drama, which could not have been what it is, he says, if it had neglected the cries of newsboys in the streets of London.

If Doughty's attitude had not changed, and if he had started to

(1) See Hogarth: Page 110.

use "Cockney" now, it follows that Doughty must have meant something different from what we understand by these words when he earlier attacked what he called "Cockney" and "Victorian" English. What he meant is neither veiled nor hidden for it is indeed a fundamental basis of his work and life. In "The Prophetic Books" as much as anywhere else in his works, Doughty states a simple fact, to which most of us would readily agree, that language and literature are the 'mirror' in which not only the nature of its speaker or writer shows itself, but also the 'mirror' in which the qualities of the age would be reflected:

> Words, all Philosophy showeth,
> Be such as ciphers are, the elements;
> Whereof each human soul builds from the Earth,
> The Mathematic fabric of his thoughts. (Cliffs: Page 23)

But that is as far as we can go in the way of general agreement; for one logical result of that, on which not all of us would agree, is to look at language, its words and phrases and clauses, as if they were the actions of the speaker and the author, and begin to pass a moral judgement on them. That if a man is evil, the words he uses are evil, even if he were quoting Scriptures, and in Doughty's opinion the linguistic issue cannot at all be severed from the moral issue. Good nature and good behaviour and good language are equated together. That is the only possible explanation of the two lines which follow the lines we have just quoted. The ordinary separation of morality and aestheticism fails to explain it:

> "Nathless we read, their fathers manly fought,
> By land and seas; and vanquished Buonaparte". (Cliffs: Page 23)

Both sides of the same problem, both faces of the one coin, language and morals, are linked together in these two lines:

"Loose-brained, loose-tongued, irrational sporting cant,
Disloyal, sordid, forged pernicious argot." (Cliffs: Page 45).

What Doughty meant then by "Cockney" and "Victorian" English, thus is made clearer. He did not mean the dialect as such but the whole character and moral behaviour or misbehaviour of the age. It was not only a linguistic or aesthetic judgement, but also a moral one. At any given time, in his youth or in his old age Doughty would not hesitate to use the dialect of good men anywhere. At any given time, in his youth or in his old age, Doughty would not hesitate to attack the language, classical, literary or dialect, used by people, ".... tainted, with the vice of unclean speech." ("The Cliffs", Page 100). But the dialect of any "Hobbe" is welcome any time. If French, Italian, Hebrew and Arabic were legitimate sources for the rejuvenation of English, could the dialect of his own country and province be discarded? This is what makes Doughty an interesting example - the freedom which he takes in using all the wealth of linguistic sources at hand, be they native or foreign, classically pure or vividly dialectal, spoken in London or in Suffolk or never used but on a written page, to construct the unique style of his works.

Dialect words as we said were woven into the texture of "Arabia Deserta". (1) Dialect words are again used here in the "Prophetic Books", particularly in "The Cliffs". Dialect is used also in the faery parts of "The Cliffs" (2) and adds to the ease and carefree homeliness of these sprites

(1) For the study of these words, see Taylor's S.P.E. Tract (Page 25).

(2) For a study of these words, see Treneer (Page 272 f.)

at play. But it is a different case with Hobbe and the other human characters of "The Cliffs" and "The Clouds". There Doughty was using dialect words - vocabulary taken from the treasured memories of his childhood in East Anglia, or from his later readings in Northern and Scottish sources. That was part of his hunt for living rich expressive words, to be used as words and be absorbed into his own eccentric sentence-structure and not in dialectal speech.

Here Hobbe himself would naturally speak in dialect words set in dialect speech. Instead of the single dialect words like 'lure' (to call or shout) in "Arabia Deserta" and 'emmet' used everywhere in prose and poetry, we are given long complete dialect sentences here. Hobbe says, for example, "I maun, these lambing nights, Lie out" and "that now I've pitched gin the heath-croft" and the simple "And there's the bot and there's the rot, and such-like." Garland the watchman says, "He's rove, from his neck.....". Halliday in turn says, "Here's glittering somewhat, rolled under the brier" and again, "We have learned them some...." The fisherman later on says, "You took me the lamp, Wor I bow oar" and again, "The 'Hope' was luffed a moment". Again we have more dialect in "An unco' thing". Drawlatch, the Sexton, says, "Tomorrow, I moun buy me a new showl...". Dialect speech is again used in the long conversation in Part III, about Harvest Kempe, which shows Doughty in one of his best and most successful moods.

Yet Doughty is never weary of using all tricks to keep his readers on tip-toe. As he did in his literary style in prose and in poetry, in insisting on his complete freedom to mix, and transplant and change, here in his dialect parts, he insists on his freedom to mix and change and transplant. If Hobbe is

a character in his own right, separate and objectively drawn, he nevertheless is not allowed to be completely free. He retains something of Doughty's own mind and ways. His speech is diluted. When he dwells on his life as a shepherd, his dialect is uppermost, but when he treats more general topics, like love of country and love of race, the language not unnaturally becomes more that of Doughty's usual literary style with its contractions and its eccentric inversions. One does not expect Hobbe to say:

> "So a wimble bores my brain, of busy thought:
> Wherefore, what though't be chill for an old wight,"

and the more he goes on the more Doughty speaks and Hobbe becomes a mouthpiece:

> "By great adventure then, High Power of God!
> That blast slacked: seas huge-lifted hurling flood,
> Ship-buffetting breakers' race, went down around us."

and many more complicated examples. Or look at the simple words of Halliday dialect indeed, but still in Doughty's usual way:

> "Shalt, shipmate, thou now run,
> Or I? to Claybourne village telegraph office:"

Thus dialect becomes like everything else one of the ingredients consciously used and deliberately merged in Doughty's fabric of poetry. Sometimes it is impossible to discover where dialect ends and Doughty's own special brand begins. As Anne Treneer has said, writing about Doughty's use of dialect and archaic words, "As always in Doughty it is impossible to draw a definite line between dialect and old literary words". That is true not only about words but also about dialect speech. After all the mixture started long ago in Chaucer, and reached a pitch in Spenser's "Shepherd's Calendar". Doughty was continuing in his time, and with the dialects of his contemporaries what his chosen masters did before.

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With Hobbe we relive in his reminiscences the immediate past of England. With the German aeronauts we come face to face with its immediate future, the danger of an invasion from the East. In the ruminations of Hobbe there was nothing about the present - except his own personal preoccupations. It was perhaps too much even for Doughty to make an old shepherd in his lonely walk speak out about what Doughty himself thought was wrong with the State of England, and the result was that when the Germans arrived on the stage, neither he nor we was prepared for the shock. To understand the future one needs to look into the present. Here we had the future brought forward actually in front of our eyes. Although this is not the "Invasion", but a preliminary step towards it, yet here is the enemy actually alighting on English soil without opposition. This is in fact the first of the various Doughty guesses which won for this end the following book the title of "Prophetic Books".

At the time, they were thought to be wild guesses by an over-anxious hysterical imagination. We know better now, but it is always easy to be wise after the event. As it was, only a part of it came true. Germany and Britain fought against each other in a bloody protracted all-out war. But the Germans were never able to set their feet on English soil and - this altogether does not seem to have occurred to Doughty - France, Russia and Italy fought with Britain and the see-saw of war had its actual toll mostly on French soil. Thus the books are only partly prophetic. Yet even this was no mere prognostication, no wild wide-of-the-mark guess on the part of the poet. As we have

suggested before, it was based on the memories of earlier generations in East Anglia of French threats of "Invasion" by Napoleon Buonaparte and later on by Napoleon III. It was fed by the continuous German preparation for war, by the German behaviour during the Boer War, and by the machinations and the speeches of the over-ambitious Kaiser. It was a guess based on the memories of the past, and the facts of the present. Even the guess about usage for the first time in the field of war of an 'aerostat' and 'aeronauts' and air-raids and air-battles was not unique and was certainly no mere fabrication of Doughty's mind, for these were the days of Zeppelin. What was brand new, a Doughty innovation if there ever was any, a practice in which he was far ahead of the poets of his generation, was the bringing in of all these modern Twentieth Century inventions into the field of poetry.(1) H.G. Wells and Jules Verne were no poets, and prose was always thought to be the field where new scientific adventures could be brought in. Poetry is by its nature always conservative. Yet it needed this most conservative of poets, the man who was generally dubbed as 'archaic', and always dismissed as reactionary, to widen the scope of poetry to include these most modern machines. The poet who has gone further back than any other into the past of humanity at large and of his race in particular, goes forward in these works more than any other poet known to him has dared to go.

(1) It is possible to put forward the same claims for Tennyson and Davidson. The first, certainly read by Doughty, looked backward; the second, unknown to Doughty, looked forward to the Twentieth Century.

But to go back to the situation in "The Cliffs", the shock of finding a new mysterious human device with unknown unlimited capabilities for destruction, must have been deliberately brought in here to have the greatest possible effect. As we have noticed the 'present' was still missing, and the weaknesses that made the actual landing of an undetected enemy aircraft on English soil possible were still not explained to us. So, as quickly as he can, the author helps the two Germans, not to reconnoitre and detect the position as they were supposed to do, but to settle down and discuss these weaknesses in the State of England together at their "belle aise!" That French term is Doughty's, and one cannot help noticing that after the long all-inclusive soliloquy of the old shepherd, Doughty follows it immediately by a longer all-inclusive dialogue between the two German Officers. It is apparent that what Doughty needs is more room to discuss more topical points, without the necessary care for the equally important points of dramatic technique.

That French term introduces us to one of these long conversations. One simple method he uses to identify the German nationality of his two 'Persanian Aeronauts', is to make them mix with the English speeches a good number of non-English words. Understandably most of these foreign words are German, like 'perfide' and 'Herr Ingenieur' (Page 17); zigarren (Page 18); nein (Page 19); Landwehr and ja (Page 26); 'Ach, himmel!' (Page 30); Weltpolitik (Page 32); Tugendbund (Page 34); Sachsen and Alt-Sachsen (Page 35); Eastriche, Asien, Mesopotamien, Persien, Indien and Welt-politik [sic hyphen word this time] on Page 36;

proviant-sack and Mein Gott (Page 38); Domkirche (Page 40); Predigers (Page 42); Komisch (Page 46); Hoch! (Page 49); Weltpolitik [again without a hyphen] on Page 51; Lieber (Page 54); Ach, nein [repeated twice] on Page 60; ungeschrieben and glanzendo (Page 61) and Gott (Page 62); and quasi-German words like 'Staff-Karte' (Page 18), 'Generalstaff', 'wondersworth' (Page 21). These help to identify Persanians as Germans in the same way as the references to Friedrich (Page 27); to Blucher and the German participation in the Napoleonic Wars (Page 27); to Von Moltke (Page 36); to the famous "mailed fist" (Page 42); to the 'highsea fleet' (Page 29) and the sarcastic references in the song on Page 49 to 'Biz' who is Bismarck, to 'Awehelm' who is Wilhelm, where Bismarck is said to be the German God the Father and Wilhelm God the Son, and their Holy Ghost is said to be "the granite-great Persanian army".

Exaggerated as all that is, Doughty would have been wise to stop there. But German words very like their equivalent English words and of the same root are used in otherwise completely simple straight-forward English sentences. "I do bewonder, that they come not yet!" says the German Baron (Page 57), and we wonder why he did not use the simple English word 'wonder', when he is able to use correctly the auxiliary verb of emphasis 'do'. Nor does Doughty stop there. German words are only part of the stock they use. Latin words and phrases, harder to account for exist, like 'Mus Ridiculus' (Page 17); 'Nulli Secundus!' (Page 39); and 'Homo sum' (Page 43). There are also French words like 'belle aise' (Page 18); 'Magnifique!' (Page 23);

café garçons (Page 24); 'au contraire!' (Page 31); 'N'importe!' (Page 33); 'beaux-yeux' (Page 36); 'à merveille' (Page 38); 'Lèse majeste' (Page 41); Nonchalante (Page 44); 'Au sérieux' (Page 47); 'devoir' (Page 48); and 'mal du pays' (Page 53), which are harder still to account for than the Latin words.

It is possible that Doughty wanted to show the wide knowledge and the high cultural and social standard of the two German Officers in contrast to the ignorance shown by English Officers later on (Part III) of languages other than their own. That might explain general terms like 'Lèse majeste' and 'mal du pays' but can hardly explain the usage of 'a merveille' and 'devoir'. Yet there are more absurdities to come; a few Italian words are used. Some are easily pardonable because they were commonly used, particularly when Doughty was in Italy, in the period when Italians were constantly thinking and working for the unity of their country. I mean the word 'Irredenta' (Page 35). The word 'fantasia' (Page 38) was also common, but not the word 'Barocco' (Page 46), derivatives of which exist in English as well as in German. But Doughty has sometimes a tendency to show off and parade his knowledge. Even Arabic finds its way to the mouths of the German Officer through that most famous and most profaned word 'hareem' in "Turkey's hareem-ery" (Page 36).

Yet all this wonderful array of linguistic erudition, in which the author is carried away against the rules of dramatic licence and necessity, fades beside the strange ability of these German Officers to express themselves in Doughty's own brand of English, with its often

careful but sometimes careless combination of early English usages with the usages of his own times, and whenever he awakens to it, the usages of a foreigner speaking in English. It is natural for the echoes of Doughty's prolonged studies to show in his work. It is, for example, natural for the poet to bring in, and for the reader to detect, the Chaucerian influences on Doughty's style, but it is quite absurd to expect it in Hans, the German chauffeur of the aeronaut, who is absolutely passive and always silent except for three occasions where he suddenly breaks into the conversation to bring it back to some natural phenomenon. First when the thunder roars, he tries to imitate it with his "Rumble-bumble, boom!" (Page 50). Secondly, when he sees "A clamour of sea-fowl", he imitates "with his arms, their lifting white wings, and mocks their cries" with his "Hieu, hieu! Heh-heh-heh, heh-heh-heh!" (Page 55). That is quite Doughtyesque, but then Hans, again like Doughty, or is it Doughty who unashamedly shows his face and makes the chauffeur speak this archaic English line, "Wild seamews Herren, cleping on their nests"? Then follows, "Yonder I see Rushlights, of early rising upland folk", and then a Chaucerian chantecleer imitation in, "Hark Herren; a cock shrills, Churl-up-early, ho!" (Page 56). Thirdly on Page 58 Hans again says, "Or likely a frightsome hare turns on her form". If Hans the German Chauffeur could speak English like that, what wonder that echoes from everywhere show themselves here and there in an unsifted unpolished mixture of dross and golden ore? What if the German Baron, logically more sophisticated than the chauffeur, uses

the English word "patient" in its obsolete Sixteenth Century usage as a verb in, "We must patient time" (Page 18)? or uses the complex typical early Elizabethan sentence-structure, for example, in

"Did any and he were but
Some drunken reeling clod, in public street,
That bounced me, I slay him!" (Pages 60-61)?

These echoes go beyond the diction and language to the atmosphere of the work and the facts. When the two German Officers come out of their "aerostat", for example, and having nothing to do, decide to sit down and talk it out, the atmosphere recalls similar situations and like openings in Elizabethan Drama, the most famous of which is the opening part of the first scene in "Hamlet", although the sense of urgency is perhaps lacking:

"So covert is the night,
There's not moonlight enough, to view this coast," (Page 17)

"Well, we must patient time: there's naught for us,
But sitting down to watch the labouring moon,
That wades this scudding wrack." (Page 18)

Then again the consummate skill of Shakespeare's Jessica and the music of the spheres, is perhaps recalled by:

"Shall we sit on this grass?"

"'T is well enough."

"Save the chill, damp night's breath,
Which hovers from waves' face, that we have passed;
This melancholy surge, with the reflux
Of seas salt tide, down on those desolate rocks;....."

and then again the atmosphere on the battlements in "Hamlet" in,

"All still is as a graveyard at midnight!" (Page 18).

I am not saying that the impact of Shakespeare is dominant

anywhere here, or that Doughty is imitating him, or that this is an important feature of his work, but one cannot help feeling that Doughty knew it, and allowed it to show in flashes. Notice again the Shakespearean memories when Doughty refers to the Victories of Henry V in France, with

"And tennis played through fair wide fields of France." (Page 26)

And again, though it is decidedly a very much fainter echo, we are reminded in the German Baron's words on "Blasphemy" (Page 50) of the famous words of Falstaff on "Honour".

Another literary echo comes from an unexpected period, a period so decisively avoided by Doughty that all his critics thought he had no link with it whatever. No author of the Queen Anne period of English Literature was ever mentioned in any of the critical works on Doughty, but here we have in this part of "The Cliffs" unmistakable signs that Doughty had studied Swift, and his "Gulliver's Travels". In as much as it was a call to 'Duty', "The Cliffs" could better recall more austere, more vigorous and more patriotic periods than the early Eighteenth Century. But "The Cliffs" was meant also to attack, to dissect the weaknesses, and castigate the villainies of English life and thought in its own period; and there it could hardly escape the influences of "Gulliver's Travels".

It is always possible to account for the influence of this most influential book on any author by saying that it was the stock-in-trade of Children's literature, and that as such no author could avoid knowing it, and consciously or unconsciously being influenced by it.

That certainly is true. But Doughty seems to be conscious of it. The echoes here are too clear to be considered mere childhood memories. The line on Page 32 which refers to "England's diseased army of Lilliput", could be such a common echo, but not the line on Page 46 where English men of letters imitate each other,

> "till they dwindle,
> Like the images of opposed looking-glasses,
> . . . . . to inane nothingness."

Yet the greatest Swiftian influence is perhaps not in textual or image echoes, but in the unleashing of Doughty's devastating satirical genius in "The Cliffs" (Part II).

But the Doughtyesque cloak of erudition thrown on these German men of war encompasses more than literary echoes. It includes for example some of the earlier historical studies that Doughty went through in preparation for the writing of "The Dawn in Britain". I am not referring to the clear indications in the "Prophetic Books" of Doughty's realization of the links between the message behind "The Dawn" and the message of "The Clouds" and "The Cliffs", nor to the outward links provided by the usages here of Britain's National Gods and Spirits or to the patriotism of the 'Scored Band'. I am referring rather to the knowledge of history which was essential to the making of the Epic, and which was found handy to help to provide the background of the "Prophetic Books". For example Carthage and Rome are mentioned by the German Officers (Page 28). More far-fetched is their mention of the Jewish Revolt in Jerusalem against Rome, and the successful crushing of it by ruthless Roman soldiery, of which Doughty had read

in Josephus in preparation for "The Dawn in Britain";

"Impious Romans laughed,
Ate pork and beat them." (Page 29).

But all these are echoes literary or otherwise, rightly or wrongly put to us through the German Officers. But the aim is important, so important that Doughty sometimes does not care, as we have noticed, to stop and reconsider the technical side of his work. The aim is to show the weaknesses of the England of the present day. Let us follow the poet there.

. . . . . .

Hobbe, in relating the near past, touches en passant the problems of the present, and the erman Officers in turn dwell on their own hostile aspirations but they find time to discuss the present ills of England. Their criticism, as we have shown, is Doughty's and not their own. It is to discuss the ills of the present that 'The Cliffs' was written. Although the past looms large in Doughty's poetry, it is drawn for the sake of the present, and it is brought forward to obey to better the present. hat service was more than the service of an idyllic innocence or ideal glory of an imaginary past to serve the yearnings and quench the personal thirst and longing of a romantic imagination, or to satisfy the inner needs of a mystical or a psychological nature. He was too much of a realist, too much of a scientist, and too less of a romantic dreamer or a mystic or an intellectual thinker to go deep either in himself or in the subject of his study. On one side, there is no undercurrent of pathos or melancholy or great emotional stirring. On the other side, there was no deep intellectual probing into the realities and the complexities of men and their world. Doughty passes by and comments on just like an outsider observing the passing scenery in front of him without being deeply himself emotionally involved.

His estimates of the present, except for the external fact of the threat of a German invasion, was indeed ordinary and inept, his criticism of the state of England superficial, and his methods

of probing and curbing, artifical and ineffectual. One could hardly expect more from a man whose beginnings were in a marginal county, in a passing class of society, and who in his younger days was never forced to mix with the crowd or go around in the vortex of modern life, never lived in the tumult of a modern city or known the hardships of workers in factories and dwellers in slums, and never in his older years welded power or known the difficulties and the responsibilities of ruling. Doughty was clearly not made for the task, and the failure thus was certain. His aloofness from his age meant that his criticism of it would be, as Barker Fairley noticed, too remote, too extensive and too diffuse.

Before his death, old Hobbe attacks the government of England (P.58) and the note is repeated by every Doughty masque all over the poem. The front of Doughty's attack, through the German Officers is wider than that. Between them they make a debating society to discuss the weaknesses and points of strength in England and in Germany. What interests us now is what they have to say about the state of Britain at that moment. And the main bone of contention seems to be that the British Race has lost its 'Patriotism' and its vigour and virility, and that it was governed badly. Britain is called the 'Petticoat Island' (P.19). Its men are said to have become, "womanized and effeminate" (P.19) and "too slow of heart and Island-bred" (P.19). They have lost their love for their motherland. Patriotism is said to have become obsolete (P.24). The upper classes are no less inept.

Their interest lies not in 'Patriotism' which has 'grown out of fashion' (P.24) but in other unfruitful spheres. As expected from the author, in his Cambridge days, of 'The Lay of the Last One,' Doughty's chosen example of unfruitful persuit was 'Sports'! :

"Each third man you shall see sling on his back
That seems a rifle : if you nigher look,
You'll find it is but some bag of toys, of sticks! "

Occupied in these fruitless persuits the British of his day have no time for the better uses of life, and have no ideals. They know no striving after knowledge. In their ignorance they have neglected the Arts. Music they do not have and do not understand. Languages they do not study. Consequently they have no knowledge of the languages and habits of neighbouring countries and nations, and they have neglected even their own language. All they can speak is of no merit or worth :

"Loose-brained, loose-tongued, irrational sporting cant,
Disloyal, sordid, forged, pernicious argot.

Moreover they never travel abroad, and are imprisoned in the narrowness of their minds. Their literature in the past was great, but it is great no more. Their theatre is nothing but :

"Brain-wasting rant, and marrow-melting plaint!
Emasculate, meretricious, void of merit.
There's nothing National in it : ...."

And one discovers that Doughty is simply looking at himself, praising all that is in him, and all the endeavours of his past and present, and simply attacking the British for not doing as he did or not having his qualities. This is no objective study but as usual an insufficient biased judgement passed without thought

on the spur of the moment.

He would never forget t e landed classes from which he springs, and remembers the plight of the farmer in the laissez-faire age of liberalism :

> brainsick politicians
> Have s en the fields to mourn and husbandmen
> go lean and pale and broken, with li ht heart,
> And though thereby the Peoples root did perish.

As a countryman who has never liked the life of the modern metropolis he mourns the passing of times of happiness in the countryside, and the past glory of the farming gentry :

> All townlings now, too soft be grown their hands,
> To guide the plough and break a stubborn glebe;
> Which labour maketh hardy and strong men,
> To keep a land against her enemies.

This change for the worse in the ruling powers of England has come about through the new extension of franchise to which Doughty naturally objects :

> 'How is Decayed so great sea-faring Nation thus?'
> They're governed now, by loose-brained demagogues,
> The dusty feet rule England, not the head.
> All carries now the irrational Parliament vote,
> Of a brain-addled crooked populace.

Thus Dought's 'Patriotism' is shown as the conservative old type of Patrician thought which lost the political hold as we have shown in the Nineteenth Century. It is indeed wrong to call him 'conservative' in the party politics of the time, because even in the Conservative party, Doughty would have found himself outvoted. He stood for the old Suffolk ancestry of landed gentry, neither for the new whiggism nor the new brand

of toryism. All the politicians of both parties and both sides of the Parliament were made the butt of his satire and the main target for his attack. Indeed the politicians and the Parliament itself are mostly blamed on the pages of 'The Cliffs' and 'The Clouds' for all the ills of England. Everywhere Parliamentarians are attacked. They were elected by what he calls "a brain-addled crooked populace." When they themselves vote on a motion, it is not patriotism or logic that decides but what Doughty calls the "Irrational Parliament Vote." (P.) Those of them who make the government are nothing but "the penny-wise foolhardy mandarins." (P.20) They do not lead the country, but are led by the mob -'the feet.' An example of what they and the Parliament did as 'a disservice' to the country is given in the decision of the Admiralty "last year" to disband the Reserve Coast guard in a pretense "to save money," while this will lead later on to the more exacting danger of hostile invasion. The Navy is weak. The merchant navy is full of foreigners; foreign pilots and foreign guides even work inside British waters. The Army in turn is called "England's diseased army of Lilliput." (P.32)

Hobbes touches things briefly as we have said, and the Germans might possibly be in whatever they say a biased foe. In Part II, the judgement is given by Sirion, Truth and the Elves. They, objective spirits that they are, do not pass judgement before they examine the case; and representative samples of spirits from

every walk of life are fetched up from England to be examined on the spot in heaven. And in marked contrast to the earlier section, Doughty soars to unprecedented heights in this Elvish fantasy. Of his Elves we will speak later but what concerns us now is the criticism he directs against the England of his day. Elves go to England and carry samples of various sections of contemporary English society in their sacks and bring them for weighing and examination. Each sackful is defended by an Elf and accused by another, and Truth passes his judgement after.

First comes a sample of the 'Commons of the English Nation,' and the first sack contains women :

"Quaint spirits of painted madams"

These are so light that the carrier-elves were about to be blown over the cliff had they not weighted themselves "With gathered stones to hold our heels to ground." And the judgement of Truth is "ye puff them from this Cliff."

The second sack is also light, for it contains :

"Men-madams, bully coxcombs, carpet-Knights."

and not unexpectedly Truth's judgement is to :

spurn forth with swift feet
These clambering capons, from the English Cliffs,
Which do men service only by their deaths.

Thus both men and women of fashion and society are proved to be worthless. Thus Doughty takes his stand against fashionable society.

The third sack carries "souls that peep, like fledgling birds" - the children of England.

> They crow not true yet, but cheep a small argot,
> As lately being crept out of the shale.

But inspite of the fact that the young men of England waste their time playing 'fatuous games,'(1) the general judgement of Truth is that the future of England lies here :

> of these new sets,
> Shall sprout and blossom too, right English worth,
> When season is.

The fourth sack holds "bounteous womanhood."

> "And everyfone is priestess of an hearth
> Faithful in poverty, sickness and distress;"

And Truth's judgement naturally is :

> "Whilst there such
> Remain, Isle Britains may not utterly perish."

The fifth sack contains what Doughty calls "Souls of uncertain sex, that eat the fruit of others labour" - and he certainly does not mean the rich upper classes. Some of these spirits were lost because of what he calls 'lack of occasion' which was their 'misfortune' and not their fault.

The sixth sack holds a sample of English merchantmen. Although some of them are good, and some are bad, Doughty gives them a severe slap in the words of 'Dru' the elf :

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(1) See also Doughty's attack on the Universities in 'The Clouds' (P.39-49) and the discussion in the following chapter.

"Merchants, are they which shove forth England most!"
The seventh sack contains a "heap...of learned men./Gleaned from five faculties of mens sciences." And this gives Doughty an opportunity he would not miss to launch the usual attack on the universities and some of their professors. These have "A world of esses, after all their names," in order "to seem wise!", although they have too long ears, "hid under their long hairs."

The eighth sack is so heavy that the carrier-elves sweat and their "foreheads weep". They carry samples of spirits from the landed class, from which Doughty himself sprang up, the class in whose hands the government of England was in the past, and whose power was waning and whose worth was unacknowledged. Doughty makes clear where he stands. The glories of England in the past are attributed to them. The weaknesses of the present are said to result from the passing of power from them. The laws which produce the change are attacked and stigmatized as 'lawless,' and the Democratic trend in the Parliament is called "cockney malice of mad Parliaments." The new middle class, clearly represented by the Liberals, is attacked. Because this is one of the few passages where Doughty's political and class prejudices are not disguised, I shall quote it in full :

> W've landed men, some heavy as clods and rocks
> W've clergy too.

Truth: 'T'is soothly such mens sons,
Nurtured and bred, in English faith and hanour
That have, in time past wrought more than have other,
For welfare of this Nation, Now the Lands
Best fatherhood, being by lawless laws oppressed,
(The cockney malice of mad Parliaments,)
They taxed are out of life. Their place is taken,
At hearth and on the land, by lesser men,
The most come up from gainful merchandise;)
Whose first thought is not for honour of their Nation.

And the first two lines show that Doughty referring to the landed gentry and the clergy at the same time was speaking about himself, his family and class, and referring to the change which involved his own personal affairs as it involved political, economical and party changes in Nineteenth Century England. It seems to be Doughty's own judgement on himself and his own worth, when Truth says :

..... it were a fruit
Of golden bough, that springs from true tree root
Of patriot worth!

The natural logical sequence leads from deploring the loss of power to the main field of the change of power - the Parliament. And in the following passage Elves describe their experiences on their way to and inside the Houses of Parliament. Of Doughty's attacks on Parliament, repeated before and after, (1) this perhaps is the most effective because like Swift's satire it is not direct. When the Elves entered the Parliament, "the National Chatterbox," they saw, for example :

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(1) See, for example, the attack in 'The Clouds' (P.p.40).

.....on either hand,
Vote catcher, strange devised, wide-mouthed machines;
That brayed, like Cyclops, with a human voice,
Parliament "Was with soul-darkness filled. Who conversed there
Did still lose some part of their better minds,

The two sides of the House are likened to two parties which :

.....Strive together,
Stretcht twixt whom was;(pull devil, pull baker!)
Acord ....
Those links were Englands travailled ages past!
Those called their mad contentions, Tug-of-War,
For Britains Life! ..."

The front benches are said to be 'moth-eaten,' and their occupants 'Place-hunters and slack-kneed tidewaiters..." The back-benchers are made up of 'thick babble throngs." Members were mostly :

"Skew-eyed, wall-eyed men, venemous ..
Some ones bat-blind; some even there brainsick ..."
... ...
Day-drivers, pompous, vulgar minds ...
Club-gallants, men-clothes-bundles, ...

The leaders of the two sides are ridiculed in ways reminding of Swift's satire :

For in that Babel-place, words outweigh deeds;
And who can gloze is likely to be made,
Within a throw, a Cabinet Minister
... ...
Whilst A spends breath, B bubbles blows aloft,
Trifling the Nations hours, the State stands still!

Policicians and parliamentarians are the first factor in England's weakness. Doughty's elves forsee its imminent ruin.

The tenth sack is brought forward; but it is 'empty.' And the elves who carry it explain that they went to the building where the 'Imperial Military Council' is supposed to be, but

where they in fact found 'Trechry' (P.96), and where :

> Within, were posted notices on red wa ls,
> Of palmistry, races, pugs, ignoble things. (P.96)

The porter is a 'whirling *dervish.*' The gate revolved continually. The 'Inner Chamber' where the Council Members sit was 'blind' and partly digged 'like a tomb' under the streets. The members cared not for the safety of the Nations, but for their own safety, and for their salaries only :

> And now they would to any jig,
> As Perish England! which might them be set,
> By their paymasters, hornpipes dance apace,

Their spokesman is called "Sir Makebelieve Megaphone," who had invented "Two new rules in Ars Metric,[1] .../...., moon-communing in the North." The first rule is 'that is greater than its whole a part!" The second is "that by how much men deduct, by so much, /Increased .. is their sum-total." The Council's 'Imagery chamber' is then described. It is 'made like a wheel-house." In the four corners stood four men 'on their heads' :

> Gazing through binocle glasses, at few ships,
> Portrayed upon the walls : so that each ship
> Seemed twain. A fifth one upright in the midst,
> Managed an optic instrument in the roof,
> Called periscope; so contrived that it reflected
> The images of all other Nations' ships,
> Diminished by an half.

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(1) The same word was used for Arithmetic in the 'Arabia'.

The eleventh sack is the heaviest of all the sacks and consequently the noblest. It contains 'sailors' and 'soldiers' Souls! Therefore the sack is 'embellished with the noble cross-stripes of the Union Jack,' and to it all the elves pay homage. The twelvth sack contains noble souls, but they are not as noble as the sailors and the soldiers. They are the 'craftsmen's souls.' Their honour lies in that they 'truly eat the labours of their hands,' and their only stain lies 'in the vice of unclean speech.' The last sack, the thirteenth, contains souls gathered from 'poor households, in the Country-side, / Stout labourers of the field.' These, unlike the industrial craftsmen have no weaknesses, for "all be of right worth."

Thus is unfolded in front of us the ills of England as Doughty sees them, in groups of men, and various units of society, in government, and in representative bodies. Thus Doughty's conservative bent shows him against the trend of the times in social, political and economical theory. Thus the artificiality of his criticism shows the shallowness of his knowledge of the present. The poet, who sees nothing wrong in the state and affairs of the industrial working classes of Britain in the later Nineteenth and earlier Twentieth Century cannot be taken as a sound judge of the situation at all.

It is true that the '<u>method</u>' of criticism in Part II is far more impressive than the method used in Part I, and that the

elves are drawn by the sure hand of a master in contrast to the shabbiness of the German Officers. But the criticism itself looses nothing of its superficiality, and it remains fundamentally the same.

It remains the same again in Part I.I where the stage is set among the English themselves, and where the sprawling scene and the medlied group of characters from the Captain, the Vicar, the Surgeon, the Constable, the Sexton, the Postmistress, the Postman, the Coastguards, the Intelligence O ficer, the Newsboy, the Soldiers, the Miller, the Fishermen, the Farmers to the Yachtsmen all mix and discuss the danger and prepare for the defence of the fatherland. Criticism here comes sparingly and it does not differ from what we have read before. Prominent among these is the occasion where the Surgeon tells of :

> "a fair young miller's born,
> Though will, I fear, by time the lad's grown tall,
> Be little left to grind of Englands corn." (P.111)

Which shows again Doughty, the farmer-squire's son lamenting the passage of the England of the farmers. On another occasion where foreign writing finds no one able to read it among them, the attack is resumed on 'the" hardboiled brains of our school pedagogues!/That could not teach us anything to the purpose."(P.115). When they try to reach London by telephone, on a Sunday, they cannot because all are at rest. That gives Doughty the opportunity to attack, appropriately in the words of his vicar, the complacency of the English people, and explain their danger

goes not stop on Sundays: "To-day all England slumbers with the dead." This provides an opportunity for another attack on Parliament :

> As for the Parliament and your public men;
> Friday them scatters, Saturday puts to flight.
> Sunday's no day; oft Monday is half naught.
> What for week-ends thus, half our year is lost. (P.121)

And with the Sabbath rest, comes the fashionable social clubs which were again anathema in Doughty's hermit eyes. In these week-ends:

> "Some bask in petticoat smiles, in country houses,
> Some fiddle time away by Thames fair side
> Some snob it at the Loll
> ... ...
> Toadeaters Club.
> New dawdle place, for lounging counterfeits;"

The commander then speaks about favouritism in the Naval Service:

> If one be handspiked up, with no more merit
> Than other hath; not justly he o'evrides,
> Treads down the rest; such favour is scarce honest. (P.136)

The Parliament is again attacked as "a parricide seditious Parliament" whose members are "Men ignorant of first principles of Estate," or "Catch-voters" who are failures in any sphere of life (P.146). On Page 164 again ~~with~~ many are said to "Loud cursed, malignant parricide Parliament," which by its neglect left the country with no defence against the invader's forces.

Part V again repeats some of these attacks. The patriotic spirit kindled in Part II and III, and bearing fruit in the abominable child sacrifice in Part IV, swells gradually to make the latter parts of the poem full of positive patriotic action

and hope of deliverance. So criticism is here less than it was in the early parts. The only new note is perhaps the attack implied on some organs of the Press, when Doughty speaks on Page 259, of a newspaper called "The Daily Liar."

Thus ends the list of evil points which Doughty sees in the state of England, at the time; and nothing could be more shallow and more superficial. What else could one expect from a hermit, who writing in 1908 speaks about 'ensign' bearing his regimental colours, when ensigns, as the reviewer in The Edinburgh Review (P.262) (Oct.1909) noticed, existed in the Peninsular War, but had by 1908, long disappeared from the ranks of the British Army?

'The Clouds' which is in many ways a sequel to 'The Cliffs' tells sometimes in the same words, differently put, of the same list of England's weaknesses. Parliament, politicians and parties, again come under fire many times. Factions everywhere, weaknesses in state and Church are again said to be the main reason for England's ills. From every point, he maintains, Britain was not ready to meet the pending danger. The British people has lost the national spirit, and do not care for their country any more. The University colleges which prepare England's youth for the future are themselves called 'problem-halls,' which waste the students' time in 'Chinese studies and brain-wasting sports' so that their graduates are all 'untaught, unexercised to patriot arms.' The government itself is made

up of demagogues whose sole aim is to remain in power. So they flatter the voters. The voters themselves are never of one mind. Nor do they all care for their country. Some of them will not accept what in Doughty's opinion is the natural order of society. He does not call them nihilists or communists, but it is clear that he has them in mind when he speaks about those who will accept no god, no laws and no marriage bonds. Among the workers some vote for those who flatter them, and those who would not sacrifice their own in the service of the fatherland. Even the ship-masters betray their country by sailing their English ships under foreign flags. Thus the same ideas are repeated here, and nothing new is added, even though two long years have passed since the writing of 'The Cliffs.' Indeed no passage of time would probably have changed the situations. Doughty's understanding of the forces at work in the social and political and economic life of his times was his weakest point. His knowledge of the present seems to have stopped in 1870 when he left England to the continent, and the rest was made up of his readings in the writings of the Tudor Age!

His belief in the greatness of England, and the superiority of the Anglo-Saxon race reflects the spirit prevalent in the England of Elizabeth as well as in the England of Queen Victoria. His belief in the continual progress of man reflects the daring Elizabethan spirit as well as the post Darwinian theories of progressive development. His high estimate of human nature and

his general optimism are results of the trends of both periods. Despair was alien to his world and resignation was unthinkable. If there were weaknesses, all he had to do was to expose them and men will certainly see their wrongs and so try to put everything in order. The feeling was more of temporary dismay that England and the English people were not at the moment alive to the danger or prepared to meet it.

But to be able to criticize effectively, one must be able to stand aloof, and understand the real forces at work, and imaginatively follow the trends and predict their future course. It is possible to say that Doughty in his isolation was standing aloof. But that aloofness was in this case a liability. He was too much of his age to be able to extract himself out of it successfully. He was too immersed in the past to be able to dissect the present trends and predict their course in the future. Whenever he saw a situation, he was quick to remember a similar situation and a kindred spirit in the literature of past ages, and then in the teeth of artistic necessity or licence, bring that historical precedent to prove or corroborate his reactions to the present. Tyrtaeus in Sparta and the 'Sacred Band' of Thebes in Greece, and Scipio in Rome, are brought forward as examples of ways of saving England from an imminent invasion in the Twentieth Century!

The attack against what he considers half-education echoes similar attacks on the pages of Erasmus and Scaliger. There were of course clear differences between the Renaissance and the Nineteenth Century that even a blind man could see. One of these was the advent of science, and Doughty himself was in a way a scientist. Yet his objection to pure science, pure mathematics and pure logic smacks more of later Medieval, early Renaissance eccentricities rather than of Nineteenth Century thought. Another was the clash between science and religion and in that Doughty certainly had definite ideas - the like of which could not of course be found in the Sixteenth Century. Still even here the early beginnings on the pages of the 'Arabia' which promised us an interesting development of an able debater and a lively, if not a deep thinker were not allowed to go deeper or to appear on the surface - as if Doughty had not enough courage and frankness to discuss frankly all the aspects of the thorny problem. It would have changed radically his way of dealing with the problems of present day England in 'The Cliffs' and 'The Clouds' if he went deeper into the tremendous effects of the religious - scientific ideas of the age.

A third was the advent of industry and the machine, and it would be wrong to say that Doughty did not feel the impact of both. In the Word-Notes he deplores the dependence of the age on machines, and expresses the fear that machines will somehow dominate, and not serve, man. In 'The Clouds' he

gives a short but accurate and fine piece of poetry in the description of a machine. Yet the wider implications of the machine age and its tremendous impact on the life of man in general, and English Society in particular, are hardly touched in Doughty's poetry. The fullest usage he makes of it is in'The Titans' (Part VI) where the young men of one country (England, of course) go and fetch the titans, who represent the untapped wealth of power in nature, and put them to the service of men.

Thus Doughty's awareness of the weaknesses of his age was neither deep nor true. He could see the ripples on the surface. He knew about the trade depression. He knew about unemployment in many parts of the country. He was aware of the decline of the power of the upper classes which he deplored. He noticed the trend of the age towards commercialism and the growth of democracy, to which he was opposed. He knew of the effect of all that in the field of politics, where all parties had to woe the new forces dominating the ballot-box. He did not examine the deeper origins of the symptoms, but he preached archaic theories of heroism, unselfishness and valour. Hedged around by a wall of moral respectibility, and conventional optimism, he would not see the disintegration of Victorian society, its personal relationships and family discipline and its ideals, and the gradual emergence of a new world and a new scheme of things. Doughty was no deep thinker and no preacher.

yet he set himself up as one in these 'Prophetic Books.'

Nor were his ideas new to his age or unique. Before him Macaulay equated change and progress: yet was, like Doughty later, to oppose working class franchise and universal suffrage. Before him, Carlyle wrote against the rising tide of Benthamism, and of democracy. Like Doughty later, Carlyle was to suggest rather hollow remedies, and put up the Doctrine of the ideal hero as a divinely appointed leader to direct the affairs of all men. Like Doughty later, he contrasts the present with an age of the past, and prefers the past.

Even Doughty's equation of social - moral - aesthetic problems was not unique. That was the corner-stone in Ruskin's ideal Utopia, where virtue, truth and justice and beauty prevailed. It was also at the heart of Arnold's work. But both Ruskin and Arnold showed a deeper, though still limited understanding of the problems of the age. Arnold in particular was probably aware more than any other poet in the period of the rottenness eating at the heart of Victorian Society. To expose the facile manifestations of progress and hope and virtue, he points at the slums and the prisons of the day. To expose the material riches of England, he points at philistinism and hipocrisy of the rich. And because culture was his field, he showed the ills of Society particularly in that field. Contemporary to Doughty was William Morris, who alone among the poets of the age extended

his activities to the practical, the political and social field, up above his cultural and literary activities.

The realization of the crisis was common, though the degree of its depth was not the same among the poets of the age, predecessors or contempories of Doughty.

What was the ideal each put up to the age? Carlyle heralded the noble hero and the age with which he compared Nineteenth Century England was the Medieval Age of Monasticism. Ruskin raised the banner of another side of the Middle Ages, Arnold went farther back to the 'sweetness and light' in ancient Greece. Tennyson, possibly the best representative of Victorianism, was so much immersed in Victorianism that the picture of his chosen age, the heroic age of Arthur, was drawn in clear Victorian colours. Victorian moral values and Victorian respectability are transplanted into the soil of Camelot and the court of Arthur and Guinivere. Men like Kingsley and Froude put up as their idol, the Elizabethan adventurer, discover, and warrior. With that coincided the great upsurge of national pride in England and the idolization of the Empire, a spirit which was to reach its peak in the works of Kipling and the poetry and life of Rupert Brooke. And Doughty's world of Tennysonian respectability, and facile morality, and his glorification of patriotism in the age of Victoria and the age of Elizabeth, and his idealization of the Empire, must be

considered in the light of all those works. The mind behind the 'Prophetic Books' belongs clearly to the England of 1870, and not to the England of 1910 - an age of ease, contentment and hope. His 'prophecies' were prophecies of a simple military attack on an unprepared Britain, and not of the great human upheaval which was World War I. His discontent is neither spiritual, nor intellectual. His dismay was not for the human predicament, or for the human civilization of the modern times, but for the external danger of hostile invasion to his beloved England. The feeling for the danger now is over-riding. Even poetical interests are secondary to the topical interest which blinds him to the shallowness of his criticism and the sentimentality of his attitude. Sometimes the poetry is great, and the technique masterly, and then one tends to pardon the shallow thought and the naive criticism. But that is, except in the elvish parts of 'The Cliffs,' so rare, and the work, as in the last parts of 'The Cliffs' and 'The Clouds,' shoots downwards to a level of weakness unparalleled even in the uneven works of this eccentric poet. Let us first discuss some points of his strength in those 'Prophetic Poems' before we proceed to discuss the weaknesses of 'The Clouds.'

Doughty's work is always serious. The poet is always dignified. Nowhere does he allow himself the frivolous flippancy of youth, or indulge in the pursuit of futile unmanly work. Yet as we noticed at the beginning of Chapter IV, part of his poetic theory was to delight; and to teach - which was indeed the real end - through delighting his readers. Parts I, III, V of "The Cliffs" are or were at the time of its writing the most serious job Doughty ever put his pen to. In the "Arabia" he was doing a public service. In "The Dawn in Britain" he was doing his countrymen a patriotic service, but in "The Cliffs" the Fatherland itself and the British Race were in danger, and Doughty's sense of dedication made his duty doubly serious. Nowhere was he more serious than he was in writing "The Cliffs". Such was the weight of duty and the burden of responsibility that the need for recreation was greater here than anywhere else in his books. Emotionally and aesthetically, he needed another side of his world to redress the balance.

To redress the balance of worldly matters by resorting to 'Nature' was an old habit of Doughty's. In "Arabia Deserta" Nature provided him with his sweetest moments. In "The Dawn in Britain" the descriptive passages on the valleys and the forests of Britain are the best proof of his intimate knowledge of the English landscape and his love for the scenery of the English countryside. Indeed the natural affection of the poet for the countryside is one of the great beauties of Doughty's poetry. Doughty was a countrymen who loved the countryside and knew it well, and he used it in every step in the course of his poetry. As KhalÎl sucks in the beauty of a green spot in the Arabian Desert, so

does Pudens in the blessed air of Avalon, and so do Carpenter and Piscator in the Valley of the Dove.

But in their case while they go, Nature provides for them a background sometimes, and sometimes provides a dramatic relief. It is not in the heart of their world and not a part of their problem. The interest is all focussed on the human being while the human being lives and struggles in this hard earthly planet. The songs of the birds, the music of which Doughty has always striven hard to imitate, to record and to convey to us, the blossoming of the lily and the hyacinth, the sweet odour of the briar and the eglantine, and the ever-changing colour of the trees, and the murmuring of the streams and the bubbling of the brooks, and the buzzing of the bees, are everywhere in Doughty's poetry. In "Adam Cast Forth" they are used naturally as the bright spots in the hard punitive journey of the two way-farers. Whenever the agony is great, God's mercy is shown in the shape of the waters of a brook or the greenery of a herb. The bright side of Nature stands for peace between God and Man, for pleasure on the side of Heaven, and happiness and ease on the side of Man.

And so it does when Doughty brings into his books the classical image of the Muses' Garden. In "The Cliffs", "The Clouds", "The Titans", and "Mansoul", pleasant Nature takes over an added meaning. It is no longer a leitmotif, a dramatic relief, but it is the other balancing side of his world. In "The Cliffs" it is the upper world, the higher sphere. In "The Cliffs" it is moreover the point of departure, from which the

whole motive of the poem flows. In "The Cliffs" it is the world of fairies and elves. In "The Clouds" it is the 'Muses' Garden'. In "The Titans" it is the world into which Man is born. It is where Doughty finds delight, and Man finds his sustenance of soul and his ease of mind.

Nature was a force in Nineteenth Century poetry. No other century in the history of literature gives us Natural descriptive poetry so varied and so abundant and so rich as Nineteenth Century English poetry - Wordsworth, Keats, Shelley, Moore, Tennyson, the Pre-Raphaelites and Swinburne and later still Clough, Dobson, Thomson, Yeats and the rest - each with his own brand, and with his own individual richness and each with his own excellences. Among them Doughty's place is assured. On one side of him stand those who look at Nature to find beyond it some other being, and to whom Nature is only a cloak, a means to an end greater than both Man and Nature, like the spirit that Wordsworth sees in Nature. On the other side stand those who do not look at Nature but to take it into their own rainbow world and fuse it with their own hazy undefined emotions, like the hazy twilight world of the early Yeats, or the dream world of Swinburne.

Nearer to him stand those who recognize the existence of Nature on its own, like Keats or Tennyson. In Doughty as well as in Keats and Tennyson Nature does not transform itself into something else, nor does it transform us into something else. We are in it, to enjoy the beauty of it, and suck in the peace and ease and plenty which it provides. But the poet is in control, neither losing his own power or his own self, nor submitting himself or us to another world. The sure control of

feeling and expression, the balance struck between the lyrical qualities and the dramatic manipulation is something we have become accustomed to find everywhere in Doughty's poetry, and we indeed find it here in his natural descriptions. The man who gave us the epic of "The Dawn in Britain" and the magnificent stateliness of "Arabia Deserta" in his younger days, gives us here the 'Muses' Garden' and the beauty of Spring in his comparatively later age. This is the youthful side of Doughty, and in this he is nearest to the poetry of his age.

Still there is a difference between Keats or Tennyson and Doughty, and the difference lies in the trends which at their most obvious manifestation make him the eccentric unique poet that he is in the Nineteenth Century. With Keats we are in the midst of rich precise imagery, worked into a sensuous pattern which is at the same time a poetic expression of a dreamy sensuous passion. Doughty's natural description comes nearer to that in its rich imagery, and pictorial precision, but it is unlike it in its emotional qualities and imaginative expression of the poet's moods. In Keats we tend to give ourselves completely and be fused with Nature. In Doughty we do not. In Keats we always ask what the emotions of the poet are. In Doughty we do not. For Doughty tries always to be 'objective'. His poetical description is there for us to enjoy, but his self, his emotions and his ideas do not come into it. If the bird sings, the song of the bird is given to us in exquisite imitation. If the spring is with us and the world is gay, then the essence of spring is conveyed in chosen eclectic imagery. And it is there for the reader to see and hear and smell and touch, and the poet would never put the barrier of

himself or his own emotions in between.

More than Keats it is Tennyson that springs to the mind from the poets of the Nineteenth Century when one reads Doughty's Nature poetry. For with Tennyson as it is with Doughty there is an element of conscious artistry, where the poet relishes not only the beauty of Nature in front of him but the beauty of the language which he is moulding in his expert hands. Keats is the lover of beauty in Nature. Tennyson is moreover the lover of the sound of his words. Doughty certainly shares these two qualities with both. With Keats,

> "I joy to heer chant of all birds;
> And this small teeming wavering infinite hum,
> In the sheen air, and thymy web of grass;
> Of silver-winged flies, and dorne creeping things:
> All children of Lifes Breath, on my Doves brinks.
> And rustling gurgling never-ending song,
> Of these shire sliding waters; wherein like
> Our fleeting lives, frail bubbles dance along."

where the sheer joy of nature, and the feeling of abundant spring everywhere, and continent in the heart of the poet is matched only by the unique excellence of the style forged by Doughty. With Tennyson, again different only in Doughty's unique style, you read:

> "Once more the gracious blossom of the thorn,
> Is in Earth's thicket-strewed wild upland seen;
> Where blows the bee-suckt thyme and honey-whin;
> And withwind pale wreathes her lithe arms among:
> With primrose under briar, and the key-flower.
> In each fresh mead, the purple flowers unfold.
> In dewy valleys, warm with Summer breath;
> Sweet violet with peerless lily, eppearath;"

But Doughty cannot be confused with Tennyson, although he certainly moves his way. If Keats was too much engrossed with emotion, too much occupied with the beauty of Nature, to stand aloof, and feel and make us feel

deliberately the beauty of the art of poetry itself, in Tennyson and Doughty you are made to feel the beauty of Nature in front of you and the beauty of the verse you read:

> The boom of bees, with wings as sheen as glass.
> From cup to cup, the flowery mead they sip;

And the exuberance of nature shown even in the Summer flies, which

> Teem, garish brood, now infinite in their kinds.

All the technical devices of the poet go into lines like:

> Flit dragon-fly, on stiff-paired clear rustling wings,
> The air hither thither cleaves.

And again

> Fairest amongst daughters of the lucid air;
> The wandering butterfly, that lights on brier;
> His pictured vans the while displays, wherein
> The blotted hews be set of every flower:
> Or folding them some blossom himself seems.

Doughty is full of Natural descriptions, objective, precise and clear. But his technique is different from that of Tennyson, even if the view-point is similar. In many ways the field in Doughty widens. For Doughty's feeling for the language, not of poetry in general only, but the English language itself, is deeper and more fundamental than that of Tennyson. A. Treneer (in her chapter on "The Cliffs", for example) shows the variety of sources from which individual words are culled and gleaned and then used, so much so that the word recalls the poets who used it ages ago, and carries us to a period when Nature was more solidly, more sanely felt, than in the Nineteenth Century. Keats almost always, and Tennyson, in most cases, carry us off our feet and we follow, dazed with the beauty of the scene in one and the sheer excellence of the

description in the other. Doughty, on the other hand, himself is never carried completely off his feet longer than half a line. Sometimes an alliterative sound helps to shovel us along, sometimes the succession of epithets, more numerous and more flowing than general in his verse might quicken our pace, but we are almost always quickly halted, and the pace is deliberately slackened, and time is forcibly allowed where we look and pose and admire and then have to stop again.

In Keats and Tennyson time is sometimes suspended, and the reader and the poet linger for a while. Yet even if the stand is in front of a single flower, the feeling of abundance, the atmosphere of plenty, and the realization that this flower or this bird is just one of many are there, and the flow of verse itself does not stop. In Doughty you feel somehow that this is the one and only object, until ponderingly in the slow-motion way, you move along. It is not static, because it is not dead Nature. But it never hurries, and the movement of the verses gives exactly the pace of the object, the pace of the poet and the slow pace with which the reader is meant to follow:

> Slow-footed, troop down other rother beasts,
> Bellowing to water; by well-trodden paths,
> Of horny hooves; over bruised daisy grass.

It is not only the usage of the older word 'rother' *why*, or the vigour and ruggedness of the fabric which tells us this is Doughty and not Tennyson, but the slow pace itself in the meaning 'slow-footed', as well as in the sound 'Bellowing to water'. If we are wanted to stay with those lazy beasts, as in the first words in the following line followed as it is with an arresting comma, we do. If we are wanted to

move along with the changing waters in the same scene, we are given more rope in the rest of the same line which flows unchecked into the next:

> They drink, they stand in shallow sliding ford,
> Of willow-bordered brook.

Then back to the laziness of the resting herd:

> "They wait amidst:
> Lowing, with outstretcht necks, into the wind;
> Long hour, to cool them in streams freshing flood;
> Heifers and steers and Kine. They stamp, they smite,
> With wafting tails, the briese from their dun flanks."

where the only part in which the words are freed from punctuation obstacles, and are allowed for the shortest while to flow is in the third line from the end, when the poet again refers to the waters of the stream. This is no Keats and no Tennyson. They are masters of the flowing line. Doughty has mastered both swift, and stagnant and slow, all the paces to be used in his wider usages of Nature.

For Nature in Doughty means in its wide variety anything and anywhere between the bitter cold of North Norway and the sweltering heat of Summer in the desert. It means the moderate mild weather of Italy, the rains in Britain, the rocky mountains of Wales, the lovely valleys of England, the scorching sands of Nejd, and the wild eruptions of Etna. And poetic language to be able to cope with all these sides of Nature and all its moods needed first of all a more detached, more objective, less lyrical, less emotional attitude than that of Keats or Tennyson. Doughty did not choose this side or that of Nature because they expressed their mood or that inside himself. Doughty described all with the same detachment, and the same delight in description.

Again it needed a richer crop of words than that of Keats or Tennyson. Very much more than Keats, and more than Tennyson Doughty ransacked the various ages of English language and literature to choose the most useful words. Common words would give common meanings and evoke common feelings. So his Nature poetry presents perhaps his most uncommon vocabulary. Words from Old and Middle English, from Chaucer and Spenser are used. Words he must have known only in his childhood in the agricultural lands of Suffolk are remembered and used. Mixed with these sometimes are the common words commonly used by us, and yet the simplicity they present gains a peculiar freshness in the company of archaic or dialect words. Look at the simplicity of this:

> All fowls are fain, of days returning light.
> This joyeth in his pride; that in his trance,
> Gurgles; he thretes, he exults.

The older usage of 'fain', the archaic declension in 'joyeth', and the poetic usage of he and his for birds are welded with the more modern declension in 'gurgles', and the Chaucerian 'thretes' with the combination in the one word of the archaic trend and the modern change is followed directly with the rich, almost religious joy of 'exults'. In the first sentences, the predicate follows the subject, retarding for a while the adjectival phrase. In the second line the first clause takes the common road of 'subject - verb - adverb', followed by the balancing antithesis where that pattern is broken into a 'subject - adverbial (or is it now adjectival) phrase - verb', retarding the verb so that it comes at the beginning of the third lines, so much emphasized and gaining in effect. Then follow 'he thretes, he exults', where the structure, if not the words, is of the simplest English that can be. And then follows:

Is mingled sweet,
Consent of winged kinds, before they flit.
The siskin, linnet and the wren; that inn,
With other more, in the sheen-flickering leaves,
Chant forth, all singing blithe, as Dawn doth rise;
Their sundry mingled lays.

which begins with Doughty's notorious brand of inversion where the verb comes first (though the interrogative is not meant) and then follows an adjective and the nominative comes last. "Consent of winged..." recalls Chaucer, "kinde", recalls the Old Testament, the rare intransitive verb "inn" has evocations of its own. "Other" for the plural others, "sheen-flickering", "Dawn doth rise", all remind us of the age of Spenser, and Campion, and the felicitous accord between the music of the word, and its meaning, and the music and meaning of the whole. Sometimes there is a flicker, a hint towards a rhyme, cleverly hidden. Look at "mingled" and "winged"; "sweet" in contrast to "flit"; the "inn" repetitions in siskin, linnet, wren and "inn", and its varied continuation in "sheen". Look at the musical balance of "all singing blithe" with "Dawn doth rise", with the alliterative "d" in "Dawn doth", and the incomplete inner link in "blithe" and "rise". Any example of Doughty's nature poetry would show him no less master of the technical excellencies of lyrical poetry than Tennyson.

"Day cometh apace: the air seemeth
Then tingled tangled web of subtle sounds."

is a good example of his natural descriptive verse, as it is of those of Tennyson. But Tennyson could hardly produce on the same page, the quick turn in the second line of the following verse:

"Quarters the quiddering swallow, each flowery mead;
Stoops, turns, returns. Souds then, her tender brood,
In covert eaves to feed, of the wild cliff."

where "stoops, turns, returns" recalls the dramatic vigour of Hopkins, or the quick turns of the Eliot-Auden school of poetry.

Fairley has more than once stressed this technical dexterity of Doughty, and tried hard to interest modern poets in his poetry, urging them to consider Doughty as the twin-innovator in the Mid-Nineteenth Century in conjunction with Hopkins. And indeed they meet in more than one point. Most important is the disappointment of the two poets and their total denunciation of contemporary poetry on both aesthetic and moral grounds. Similar also is the confidence of both in their ability to mend the ills of literature in their time, and to forge a new way - which is the way. Similar again is the preoccupation of both with the early ways of literary expression in Britain - such as the interest of both in the Welsh language and literature, and in Anglo-Saxon poetry. From these sources and the like, both tried to regain a more virile more sinewy texture for their poetry. In the realm of words, both aimed at, and succeeding in getting - a freshness and an exactness of sound and meaning. In their rolling descriptive epithets both tried to capture the quick living urgency which was lost in the monotonous twilight dreams of Swinburnian sweetness. Both tried their hand at new combinations of words, new compounds - and in particular the Carlylean bi-adjectival compound. Both alike tried to regain for themselves the almost unlimited freedom in matters of syntax, sometimes deliberately confusing their sentence-structure, never allowing the reader to relax.

Both were fond of inversions, transpositions and omissions imitating different structures in different languages. Both aimed besides vividness and exactitude - at economy. Both were fond of new experiments in technique like breaking of a word, leaving one part of it at the end of a line, and beginning the following line with the other part, (1) and like the "interrupted utterance" both borrowed from Welsh. Both were eccentric in their excessive usage of parenthetical insertions and of their excessive usage of punctuation as a means of sentence-structure.

These are indeed striking points of similarity between the two poets. But the similarity is only one of attitude and of technical devices, and there the similarity ends. The differences are no less striking than the similarities, so much so that they seem in different worlds altogether. There were perhaps two main fundamental differences. Hopkins was a lyrical poet while Doughty was mainly an epic poet; and Hopkins was a Catholic while Doughty was a non-conformist. That meant that Hopkins had the more solid body of traditional thought and faith to lean upon, while Doughty had to forge his way ahead freely and individually. That also meant Hopkins - witness his conversion and his ordination and his strict adherence to Catholic monastic discipline - was more disciplined in thought, mood or emotion. The life of spirit, the inner tensions of a living conscience, awaring of living Evil as well as hopeful of living Virtue, is fully expressed on the pages of the lyrical

(1) Fairley noticed the likeness there between Hopkins' "Windhover" and Doughty's verse. See his article "Charles Doughty and Modern Poetry" (London Mercury, June, 1935).

poet, Hopkins, and totally lacking in the pages mostly objective of the epic poet, Doughty. In this complex modern world of tension and upheavals, Hopkins contributes something, and modern poets feel the pangs of his heart when his is beating hard. Doughty was living in a "fool's paradise" of hope and confidence in Man and his future, and the problems of this complex age externally and internally are painfully lacking. Whatever Fairley does to rehabilitate him as a technical innovator, he cannot make him at home in the complex world of the Twentieth Century. The only lesson that Doughty can teach a modern poet is on the technical side - and that alone never made a first rate reputation. Spiritually, Hopkins was as near as it could be in the Nineteenth Century to the Eliot-Auden School as he was technically, and the flights of his imagination at its best could hardly be surpassed. Doughty spiritually, emotionally and mentally was from another world, and technically at his best he could not soar as high as Hopkins, and could never be as intense as Hopkins, and large stretches of his poetry are stale and barren. Doughty is vast and extensive, and what he may lack in depth, in comparison with Hopkins, he makes up in the width of his range. For Hopkins the lyrical poet, for example, nature was used to express man's moods and impressions. For Doughty, nature was described in all <u>its</u> moods and all its changes.

Nature includes the living spring and the birds and it includes also the dead rocks, and the erupting volcanoes. Not in Keats or in Tennyson or in Hopkins or Eliot, do we find the like of this, with which Doughty's pages are indeed full:

Was yet a glowing sherd of iron rocks,
Foaming out waves of stoney molten dross,
Face of this Terrene Mass; which shaken by strife
Is without cease, of jarring elements:
Whereo'ev continually hoved thick vapouring mist;
Raining down reeking waters' might flood:
(Vast liquid Plain, coucht fuming Deep, waste brine;)
That wild winds reaved, in mountainous wallowing heaps.

The sky with all its changes, the sea in all its moods, the earth with its geological phases and places, are part of Doughty's Nature. As he captured the oppressive heat of Arabia, and the comparative ease of its cooler moments either in impressive short strokes of the brush like: "No mating here of birds; not a rock partridge-cock, calling with blithesome chuckle over the extreme waterless desolation" ("Arabia Deserta", I, Page 323), or in longer wonderful passages like the one on the evenings in the Arabian steppes with Zeyd and Hirfa ("Arabia Deserta", I, Page 259) which Herbert Read has justly praised in his "English Prose Style" (Page 42), he gives us again the various sides of British landscapes in "The Dawn in Britain". Later he generalises more in "Adam Cast Forth", giving both the blissful and the bleak side of Nature. In "The Cliffs" the geological rock formations find their expression and in "The Prophetic Books" and in "Mansoul" nature is used, as it were for ultramundane ends.

One manifestation of his usage of nature is its use as the back-ground to his pastoral poetry. For Doughty who would not write a subjective lyrical poem, directly revealing his inner feelings had consequently to follow the objective traditions used by poets before him, among whom his acknowledged master was Spenser. Now in his long studies of Spenser he seems to have been as much under the spell of the "Shepherd's Calendar"

as he was under any of Spenser's other poems; even more. In the epic "The Dawn in Britain" there are only three mottoes chosen for his 24 books, one of which is an Italian epigram. One motto comes from the "Shepherd's Calendar". Any look at Doughty's Notes show how that poem was always in Doughty's mind. And indeed historically speaking, and Doughty as we know had a historical tendency, that poem was more important than "The Faerie Queene". In a happy invention Spenser was able to combine the best traditions of the past with the vigour of his present to give a new lease and a new life to the new blossoming poetry of the golden age. The "Golden Age" of Elizabeth and Spenser, golden to Doughty more than to any other, had its golden gate and key in the "Shepherd's Calendar". The same blend of archaism and dialect was there that is in Doughty's works. Spenser's shepherds were no Sicilian or Arcadian shadow characters but real representatives of rural England, more vigorous and more real for example than Wordsworth's rustic men.

Doughty uses the pastoral convention in Spenser's way in most of his later poems. As Spenser used the convention to express his blend of classicism and humanism, and to express his own love of his country and race while using the methods of Theocritus, Virgil and Mantuan, so does Doughty. Doughty has studied Spenser, Sidney, Daniel and Drayton and the rest of the Elizabethan pastoral-poets. (1) But he uses the pastoral convention for ends far beyond anything tried by any of them.

(1) Doughty has certainly studied the Elizabethan anthologies of poetry from Percy's "Reliques", to "Britannia's Pastorals", ... etc.

It is true that he, like them, puts up the image of the pure simple pleasant and delightful life of shepherds in contrast to the complex complicated and sometimes corrupt life of the present civil life. It is true that like them, he uses the convention to delight, and to teach through delight. But unlike them, he does not put it up in contrast to the sophisticated polished and grotesque life of a court. And he does not let it stand by itself. When he brings it he brings it as "a part of a stage" in Man's development from primitive society to the complexities of modern civilization. In the Nineteenth Century, the over-all theory of sociology and anthropology, was to look at shepherd life as a stage in Man's long history which preceded the agricultural phase, and was followed later by the mercantile and industrial phases.

Thus in "The Titans" pastoral poetry starts in Part II, and is revived in Part IV, but it hardly continues in Parts V and VI. In "The Clouds" Carpenter and Piscator bring it back as memories of the early Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries. In "Mansoul" again pastoral poetry is given as part, pure and happy, but still a part of Man's development forward. Naturally Doughty would not consider that happy stage as dead and gone. He himself must have known shepherds like "Hobbe" ("The Cliffs") in East Anglia in his younger days. In Arabia again he lived with shepherds and tasted their merriment. The shrill pipe of which he read in Spenser and the rhythmical dances of young men and maidens in Arcadia, were never for him dead bookish conventions. He knew that they were living expressions of the joy of simple life. Thus the image of joy in nature was in a living manner linked in Doughty's

mind with pastoral life and pastoral poetry.

Another use for Nature in Doughty's poetry is again a revival of an older convention, older perhaps than pastoral poetry. Later on we will discuss Doughty's belief in the divine inspiration of poetry, and in himself as a dedicated poet destined to convey a message to his countrymen and to his fellow humen beings. Conventionally the divinity which hovers above and whispers to poets and looks after them, is not only alive but also hard at work. In classical mythology the divine master is one of the Nine Muses. In Hebraic angelology, the divine 'Voice' of the Lord, rarely direct, and often indirect, is that of an archangel, Gabriel or Azriel, or such another. In "Adam Cast Forth" Doughty makes Azriel the guardian of God's creation in Adam and Eve. But in all the rest of his poems the guardian angel is a classical Muse, in the happy compromise of the various elements of sources in Doughty's works. Now the purity of man in general and the poets in particular shows at its truest, when all nature, earth, plants, birds, trees and animals are all at one and peace. The highest symbol for human bliss is a "Paradise", a garden, both in classical mythology and in religious lore. In classical mythology it is usually up above, and so it is in religious mythology. Doughty's purest moments, the highest spheres to which a poet could aspire, under the wings of the Highest God, is what in following the classical convention he calls "The Muses Garden". In "The Cliffs", "The Clouds" and "Mansoul", the "Muses Garden" is given as the abode of the goddesses where they rest and live at peace, where sometimes they hold court, and where the chosen few of divine inspired poets and thinkers find their final rest. As it

does in classical mythological poetry and in its imitations of the Renaissance, the convention in Doughty's poetry depends, as usual again in the rest of Doughty's poetry, on the two legs of the objective description of nature in Spring and Summer, and of the symbolic personification of the Goddesses and Muses and their lives. On one side it is, as it were, the best garden Doughty has visited, perhaps on Themes side, perhaps in Italy and perhaps at Tayef. On the other side we have the noble spirit walking at ease and breathing the purer air of an ideal "Valhalla".

From Nature pure and simple, to Nature in the "Muses' Garden" is a step forward, and another step in the same direction transfers us to another world, based indeed on this world of ideal plants, ideal birds, and rarefied spirits. Although this is similar to the "Muses' Garden" it is not the same compartment. Although some of the spirits here are relatives of the Muses, they are not alone. In "The Clouds" we have the 'Muses' Garden' where the goddesses are and the poets walk, and the poet gets instructions and is given power and inspiration. In "Mansoul" again the first book is in 'The Muses' Garden'. The Muse in "The Clouds" is the classical Muse of Poetry, but in "Mansoul" it is 'Britain's Muse', and later it is 'Hertha: Earth-Mother Goddess of the Angles'. In "The Cliffs" on the other hand it is "'Sirion', the divine shining One from heaven, one of the Mighty powers of the Universe". Thus classical mythology, ancient Anglo-Saxon and British Legends, and Hebraic angelology all help to provide Doughty with the mixture he always uses. At the tip of his fingers lie all the wealth of Hebraic, Greek and West European

legends, and he uses them exclusively as he chooses.

When the image he conjures is general, applicable to all humanity, the Hebraic element is usually predominant in his mind, as is the case in "Adam Cast Forth" or in the Old Testament creation of the World in "The Titans". Nearer home Greek elements tend to come to the fore, as they do in the "Muses' Garden' in "The Clouds". In Britain, although the mixture is still there, the Old British folk-lore becomes apparent, and it is clearest in "The Cliffs". "The Cliffs" indeed is the one book in which his fancy is given full freedom, and is <u>almost</u> allowed to run wild. Two of the five parts of the book are in that world of fancy. As if the sheer burden of the responsibility he felt towards his people and his fatherland, and the doom and danger to which his beloved England is about to be subjected, forced him further in the way of fancy than anywhere else. Technically the poem needed a balancing. Artistically, he who suffers needs delight as compensation. Emotionally his readers were to learn by exhortation on one side and by delight on another. The stage of Britain was thus divided, as it were between two spheres: the human sphere of Hobbe, and the German Invaders, of the Cliff and its defenders, and the more fanciful sphere of Sirion and Truth, and their followers. For Sirion, the half-astronomical half-classical mythological deity was not alone. With him come "Yamîn and Shamôl, clearly of Hebraic origin, and 'Truth', a personification from the age of allegory, used once before in "The Dawn in Britain", which has his ancestors in the Medieval and Renaissance authors as much as in the earlier classical writers in Rome who used their Gods as personifications

of abstract qualities of psychological situations.

All this is the first stage towards what turns out to be some of the exquisite beauties of Doughty's poetry, and of English poetry in general. Truth conjures up his followers who turn out to be those naughty little creatures of Man's fanciful imagination at its purest phase. Doughty for a while lets loose and we find ourselves lost in the sheer freedom of the irresponsible world of these dainty small creatures. For a while one wonders if we are indeed still reading Doughty's poetry, for even its rhythm changes, and its metre is new in the poetry of Doughty. Little is the world of fairies, and brief is their breath, and it would have been too artificial even for Doughty to express their existence, their lives, their actions, in his usual ponderous five-beat line. But the technical change is surpassed by the sheer joy and felicity (1) of fancy in their presentation, and the vigour of unshackled imaginative power in the weaving of their story, which sometimes recalls some of the happiness of C. Rossetti's poetry. Walter De La Mare's world is similar, and it is significant that he used excerpts from Doughty's Elf poetry in one of his anthologies. The other kindred world is that of the early Yeats and the work of the Irish poets. But theirs was truly called 'Twilight'. It has an evening quality of fading fancy alien to the vigour, freshness, and pure naughtiness of Doughty's elves. When one thinks of sprites, one does not think of grandeur. The Greek sirens of Homer could hardly be the source of Doughty's elves. Nor could it be the fairies of classical

(1) Elves are treated more seriously/in "Mansoul". See Chapter X.
But less successfully

wells, mountains and seas, the nereids, the oreads, and the naiads, although Doughty's fairy world is nearer to them than to that of Homer's sirens. Nor are Doughty's sprites like the milder, perhaps more sophisticated fairies of Ariosto or for that matter Spenser.

They seem to be of a peculiarly native breed, very much like the 'Pixies' of South Western England, of the 'Brownies' of the English country-side. A more certain source than the current stories of elves and fairies in the England of his day is indeed the ancient stories of the elves and fairies of the Britain of yesterday. It suited him more, going as he did to the past to illustrate to the men of his day the shining example of the grandeur of their past history. Doughty was an admirer of Walter Scott, and he wanted to do for Southern Britain what Scott did for the North. And part of Scott's endeavour was the salvage of the legends and fairy tales of his native Scotland.

Doughty in his preparations for "The Dawn in Britain" came into contact with John Rhys and consulted him about Celtic mythology and Celtic lore. Thus somehow the wealth of fairy legends in Irish and Welsh literature was studied and absorbed, and one feels that his version must have been nearer the truth of that vigorous race in its greener days then the death-wishing fin-de-siécle atmosphere of Yeats and the Irish Revival. No English poet as far as one knows has used light-hearted fairies and mischief-making elves in the same way as Doughty has. The nearest is Drayton's "Nimphidia", which has a well-ordered symmetrical structure, shown outwardly in the usage of stanzas and rhyme, which belie the real notions of a care-free society of a-moral creatures. Doughty's

elves in "The Cliffs", but not in "The Clouds" or "Mansoul", are true to their nature. They are free from human values, human ways, and the air they breathe is not human air. Later on when Doughty himself turns to the problems of man's world at hand, they also become human tools, and human puppets. As Trencer says, in "Mansoul" the fairy queen has learnt to keep court. But Dru, Gnorfe, Sparke, Turpe, Knop, Kexie and Pipit are fairies as genuine and as living as anything in literature or in fancy.

It seems to me that Garnett's criticisms on "The Cliffs" to which we have already referred and the text of which we were not able to discover, had an adverse effect on Doughty's work. "The Clouds" was written after it and Garnett's criticism seems to have been in Doughty's mind when he wrote the new work. Actually, the world of "The Clouds" is the same as that of "The Cliffs". It is true that no characters from the older work survive into the new. It is true that the first book was about the threat of an invasion, while the second is on the invasion itself. Therefore the action in the first work is static in terms of space; and the work is divided as it were horizontally, between 'up' and 'down', up among the Spirits and Abstractions, and down among the inhabitants of the East Coast, the 'Cliffs' of England; while the action in the second book starts on the upper level, at first, where, in the Muse's Garden, the poet is given the power to move about, to rove everywhere and describe what he sees. Thus he looks into the lower sphere, and records what goes on; and from among the crowds on the Eastern shore, chooses - arbitrarily - the man 'Carpenter', and follows him everywhere. With him we are able to travel from the East Coast where the enemy's brutal attack starts, and move westwards through all kinds of scenes and situations, through villages, towns and cities, across fields, valleys and rocky parts, on all kinds of transport, on foot, on horse-back, on carts and on trains, meeting all kinds of men of all classes, of all trades and of all walks of life, until we reach the far west of Britain, in Wales, and see the forces of succour at work.

While "The Cliffs" was called "A drama of the Time, in Five

Parts", thus giving the critical reader the right to apply to the work the rigours of dramatic construction and dramatic technique, and the right to tax the poet and censure, if need be, the loose threads left unaccounted for here and there, "The Clouds" is given to us with no clear qualification of form. (1) Doughty does not call it 'Drama' and does not give a list of "Dramatis Personae", yet the way he treats his subject-matter here is not fundamentally different from the methods used in "The Cliffs". Could it be that Garnett had availed himself fully of the opportunity provided by Doughty in the case of the earlier book to criticise Doughty's notions of dramatic form, and that Doughty was careful not to fall in the same trap again in "The Clouds"? Yet "The Cliffs" was, as we have noticed, too loose to be looked at as a regular play; and "The Clouds" is too much like it to be called a "Poetic Narrative" or any form of literature other than closet drama. That Doughty has, deliberately or not, neglected to call "The Clouds" a play does not prevent us from looking into the changes brought about in its shape and form, and from comparing its form with that of the earlier work.

For here there is an apparent attempt at some kind of discipline brought to bear on the whole. There is an introduction to the whole work, stating in the clearest poetical terms why the book was to be written at all. The 'Proeme' is a complete part, that stands by itself, and directly in terms of a straightforward poetic address, gives to the reader what the poet intends to say. The only link between it and the rest of the

(1) The Cambridge Bibliography of English Literature calls it "The Cliffs (1909): 'A Play in Verse'".

book is that the topic is the same, here given as a poetic statement, and later given in dramatic terms. Some of Doughty's critics thought that the Proeme was enough, and that it would have been better for him and for his message to end it at the end of this part and not continue it into the following parts of "The Clouds". Doughty never believed in short concentrated attempts. Whenever he wrote, he did so with all his might, and all his energy. He gave all, the part and the whole. As his tutor in his Cambridge days had noticed, you ask him a question and the answer will never be short and to the point, but long, detailed and all-inclusive. Sometimes the answer is masterly in its wholeness, but sometimes also it is tedious in its diffusion and unnecessary expansion. But Doughty will not see. To him this first part is only a beginning - a 'Proeme'.

The second part is a new departure into a higher world, an upper sphere, where in a 'Holy Mountain' there is 'The Muse's Garden'. There the gods are, and of the sons of men only the Poets and the Philosophers of the past, in their successive generations - not all - but only those who were worthy of it by their noble verse and noble thought, when they were alive on this earth. The only living person, to be allowed by the Gods to dwell here and to gain the powers of those who live here, is the poet himself. Alone among the living he has noble thought, and writes noble verse, and lives a noble life; therefore he is given that exalted position to see and foretell. Without losing his life, not being 'death-purged', but 'translated from World's life'

he joins the chosen few of the noble poets of the past, and the philosophers, the seekers after knowledge of the ancient generations of man. Amon, these Doughty seems to make a subtle distinction. The poets, like the prophets of Canaan and Gaul, have their power from the Gods, and so their vision is heavenly, unlimited and illimitable.

As for the philosophers, theirs is no light from above, but an endeavour from within. Their's is a search, an attempt by human minds to discover superhuman truths, a movement from the pit soaring upwards:

> Men of great reach, ...
> Sequestered in steep paths; whose soaring spirits,
> Born in derne fleshly slime of sin and death,
> (A well of darkness;) sought, how might they purge
> Their being distempered, drowned, and gather light;
> In riddle of Earth-World, the ETERNAL KIND,
> To read:"

Thus when Doughty writes "The Cliffs" and "The Clouds" he is a poet, a seer and a prophet. When he tries in "Mansoul" to solve 'The Riddle of the Universe', he is not only a poet, he is also a philosopher, and Doughty's belief in his prophetic powers cannot be separated from his belief in his poetic powers or his trust in his philosophic endeavours. Those who dwell always on the 'Victorian' side of Doughty, would be quick to notice the Victorian belief in the prophetic qualities of poetry and the bardic sanctity of the poet. This was the first age in which a man became a peer because of his poetry. But that in itself is to my mind the difference between the Victorian belief in Bardism, and Doughty's belief. It is possible that Doughty's belief sprang from and was part of the general attitude of the age. But the general attitude of the age had

something worldly about it, partly social as shown by Tennyson's Lordship, partly sentimental as shown by the various clubs of the lovers of Browning's poetry. It had nothing in it that came near the old mystical belief in poetic inspiration as a heavenly spell. There was something in it that was superficial and smacked of Philistinism. Doughty's belief was more fundemental, more genuine, more consuming, for the like of which we must travel backwards in time to ancient Britain, to ancient Palestine, and ancient Greece. To the poetry and the philosophy of Greece, and to the religious inspiration of the Old and New Testements, is added the genuine pride in the ancient bardic traditions of Celtic Britain. He, Doughty, is 'Vates' the inspired poet and the Inspirer here is 'The Muse of Britain' herself, who teaches him to look at Britain's plight and tell, and who gives the cause as being the withdrawal of his protection of Britain by 'Angel Albion':

> One of the Seven Spirits, inhabiting
> Eternity. (1)

To the philosophers and poets of Greece and the poets of England, the second part of the 'Muse's Garden' adds influences from the Hebraic sources. For the Muse leads the poet to have a look, in a 'Vision', to the state of Britain now and in the immediate future. What he sees now will be given in great detail later on through the various parts of "The Clouds", but what is more important to us now, is, not what goes on below

(1) Later on the Archangel 'Abdiel' is brought into the picture. Most probably he was meant to be 'Angel Albion'.

on the soil of Britain, but what goes on up in the higher spheres between the 'Spirits' inhabiting 'Eternity'.

There the 'Evil Genius of Britain' which is the cause of the ills of the 'Time', sees coming towards him 'a mighty company of Satan's Spirits!' Mightiest of these is 'Azazel', the 'Archdemon', who remembers in unmistakably biblical terms, "The Voice, which from beginning was with Heaven;" and Christ, "On Earth, in form of womb-man man was seen:", "The Prince of Life". To meet him and his evil followers, comes "Abdiel, an Angel, of the Spirit of Prayer", to ask them not to vex "Isle Britain". They discuss Britain, and 'War' which dwells in Hell, and which was lately awakened by a confederate of Satan on Earth, (1) to lay Britain waste. Within this half-hebraic half-medieval frame the danger of the invasion of Britain is shown. The poet is given power by the Muse to see and meet and mix unnoticed with the people on the soil of Britain and tell it all, and the 'Muse's Garden' comes to an end.

The direct statement of "The Proeme", thus is fused into a larger whole, of a scene of a Vision in heaven, where the past in terms of philosophy and poetry and religion, and in terms of poets, philosophers and angels is unfolded in front of the poet, and the present where evil reigns, and the immediate future, where War devastates and destroys are shown. In preperation for the following parts of the work, the poet is given the power to see everything by himself, without himself being seen,

(1) Clearly the Kaiser of Germany is meant

This seems to be Doughty's device to give us the super-natural sphere first by itself, and the natural human sphere by itself after to avoid the alternation of scenes and the abrupt changes of "The Cliffs". Yet somehow one feels that "The Cliffs" is a better work than "The Clouds" in its parts, and as a whole. But to understand that we must follow the poet with his roving eye.

The scene in "The Muse's Garden" comes to an end and the following scene transfers us to a scene in East England. The poet-seer, the 'Vater', has the power to do that and transfers himself and us backwards and forwards in space as well as in time. The choice of East England is natural since the danger has always come either from the South or the East, and in this particular instance will most probably come from the East. It is also an appropriate choice, because Doughty, Suffolk-born and bred, knows East England better than anywhere else. In other places his knowledge might be vast. He has travelled far into the corners of Britain, into Wales in the West and Scotland in the North, and he has studied the geology, the geography and the literature of each part. He has studied also the history of these lands on the historical sites themselves, the mounds and the tumuli. But his roots were deeper as we have explained in East England. There he was born, and there he grew up. He knew it better than any other part of Britain. Witness, for example, its place in Doughty's usage of

dialect. In Arabia, Arabic words and phrases are brought in. In "The Cliffs" (Part I) the German Officers use German, French and Latin words. In Wales Welsh words are brought in. In his Word-Notes, Doughty shows that he was preparing long lists of words in the Welsh language, in the Scottish dialect, and stray words from Greek, Latin and Italian, find their way into the lists. Yet when it comes to the actual usage of all these, they become additions and ornaments to be used within the context of his peculiar brand of literary English. None is allowed to occupy a place by itself. All are embedded as it were in the general texture of his English style. It is only here in his East England scenes, that a dialect, be it authentic or mixed, is used at length. Everything else is acquired, learnt and studied, and in other words mostly literary and artificial. But this is at heart authentic and real, and the artificiality creeps in when he starts to move away or give himself more freedom. Artificiality is not the rule but the variation on the theme.

Unlike other groupings (1) in Doughty this 'workman's family' sitting around a fire of sticks in the field outside burnt Easthampton is indeed perfectly realistic. There could be no contrast more striking than the change from the previous scene in 'The Muse's Garden' to this realistic scene of a family gathering. There a creative and lively fancy is let loose. Here everything is controlled to the common low level of a barren workman's existence. There, beings, scenes and objects

(1) Except perhaps parts of "The Cliffs (Part III)".

are given in a noble atmosphere of romantic tenderness. Here the mould is rough, and the characters are viewed in concrete earthly terms. There you have the Muse and the Garden and the mystic poet. Here you have Anne, Watkin, John and Carpenter, and the fire of sticks burning in a field outside a burnt city.

The sharp definite change is shown in the sharp decided tone in the phrases and clauses also. It is a different style and diction. There you have longer speeches, longer sentences, longer statements, though everywhere Doughty never allows you to be lulled by length of verse into the romantic haziness of Tennysonian and Swinburnian verse. Here the speeches are short, clipped and unconnected, creating a different cast of style and diction. There the whole is 'poetical' in matter and manner, and here both matter and manner are practical. There could not be a more appropriate more fortunate choice of a medium than Doughty's usage of the dialect here.

But Doughty could never sustain for a long time this careful skilful delineation of dramatic technique and control of form. If he did, his dramatic attempts would not have been, as they certainly are, so confused and uneven. Nor did he have the ability to become, for a long sustained period in obedience to the necessities of drama, anybody other than himself. That is why he seems to have been happier in "The Cliffs" with its succession of realistic parts, divided by a series of visions, than here in "The Clouds" where the 'Vision' in 'The Muse's Garden' is followed by the realism of 'Easthampton Burned' which is kept

on the same level to the end of the book. As sure as day follows night, and night follows day, Doughty's variations and contrasts follow each other in quick succession. It was perhaps part of his nature, for the same could be seen in every work of his, in the succession of characters or events or scenes, sometimes within the bounds of the same paragraph or the same page. To expect him to keep the same characters in view is indeed too much.

The workman's family introduces us to the scene and to their 'gentleman lodger', the man Carpenter with whom, for good or ill, we will travel across the land to Wales - For good, because in him Doughty finds a suitable mouthpiece, and a suitable device which would make it possible for him to take us along on this long journey. Doughty is no workman, and neither is Carpenter. He is a 'gentleman'. He is not old, or he would never have been able to go through the difficulties of such a long and hazardous journey. But because he is not old, one would expect Doughty in his patriotism to lead him direct to the ranks of the new army to defend the Fatherland against the invaders. Every man we meet along the road is either an army man or waiting for orders. Only Carpenter leads us appropriately across England. The drama needs him much more than England. So it is that Doughty gives him a cause which, in Doughty's values, is no less sacred than the defence of the Fatherland. His mother lives in Derby and he goes there to put her affairs in order before he joins the army.

Yet even he has not magic enough to keep the ever-roving eye of

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the poet on him all the time. Sometimes, with no apparent reason and no warning, we leave Carpenter and are transferred to another scene. And we are not to object, because the poet in the upper world of the Spirits was given the power to transfer himself from any scene to any other scene, for good, or to come back, with no obligation to tell or to explain. Here at the beginning we are given an example. The workerman's family talk in dialect, introduce Carpenter and discuss the situation. When an inspector arrives 'with a lantern and notebook' to write down the names of all the refugees for the distribution of 'loaves' and later a waggon arrives:

"An Ambulance! I know it by the lamps."

And 'bread' is distributed, "Two loaves per head", and news is given to them and to us, they seem to have outstayed their usefulness, and the scene is shifted without much ado to another part of the field.

There the Mayor of Easthampton first hears reports of the refugees and their number, and secondly he in turn gives a report of what had happened in Easthampton, before, during and after, the enemy attack. The stage is set for this report in the crudest way imaginable. An Intelligence Officer arrives for an enquiry and the Mayor's story is given in details in answer to the Officer's questions. But the usual extraordinary mélange of the noble and the absurd in Doughty's works shows itself in the Officer's questions. Imagine an Intelligence Officer sent by the Central Government to the Mayor of the burnt city asking him <u>why</u> the enemy had destroyed his city:

"Therefore the Enemy have, contrary to the Law
Of Nations, and to military honour,
Bombarded and burned down your open town?"

which is absurd. And then comes the question, which was natural to ask, and natural to answer:

"And will you further tell me, what has passed;
So that I may report, by telegraph."

And this gives the Mayor, or Doughty, the opportunity, which the poet in Doughty would have, by what means it does not matter, of describing the havoc brought about in the city by the Enemy's attack, and the courage of its citizens in the best Doughty tradition of descriptive poetry.

Two things which deserve noticing here are, first the usage of the word <u>telegraph</u> for the first time in poetry, (1) and secondly the particuler kind of factory, said in the passage to have been destroyed - the 'soap-works'. The only works nearer the village in Suffolk, where Doughty was born, were 'soap-works'. The word 'gasometer' also seems to be used here for the first time. But bolder perhaps is the usage of motor-horn and motor-car. As late as 1895, the usage of the word motor-car was still disputed, and it was in 1896 that it seemed to gain general approval by the establishment of the 'Motor Car Club'. For Doughty to use it in poetry proves beyond doubt his readiness to accept the newest terms in the language into the fold of his poetry.

But the poem is not to be enacted on one stage only. Along the way Carpenter goes through a number of episodes. But we will not follow

(1) The word was used by "Clough Poems (1869) II. 423" but it meant a 'telegram' there.

him everywhere. Nothing will be gained except a few moments of exaltation. We will pick and choose at random and comment.

At one cross-roads, for example, we are stopped to read not local notices, but the Government's "Declaration of the State of Siege". It is important to notice here how wide Doughty's cloak of poetry is, to include, not only the various dialectal parts, but also the bare, dry, official declarations. This was the period when authors of literary poetic dramas like Lascelles Abercrombie and Gordon Bottomley were trying to discover ways and means by which verse could do all the functions of which prose alone at the time was capable. I am sure that Doughty did not know of these attempts, and that his work in 1910 included these parts, because as early as the eighteen seventies he had evolved a theory of poetry wide enough to claim the oldest and most modern resources of literature and language for his verse. When Doughty is dubbed 'archaic' by his critics and dismissed simply because of the old phraseology of his work, we must remember the examples of his ultra modern trends. Doughty's poetry which could attain the heights of sustained passion and thought could also at times convey the ordinary matter-of-factness of prose. These official words of the 'Declaration' are printed all in Capital letters, for Doughty uses the different methods of printing as much as he uses punctuation as ways of expressing his thoughts. His poetry provides proofs that he had studied the art of printing as much as he had the art of writing.

In an inn at Stamford, we have a Chaucerian gathering of travellers and an Inn Keeper. But any comparison with the world of 'The Canterbury Tales' would show how much Doughty's characterization was dry, wooden and artificial. The man, who in the 'Arabia' was such a master of characterization as to compare favourably with Chaucer, has

become a mechanic changing his different facial masks. There he was full of life; here he is full of preaching a message. He is more serious, but his art has certainly lost the sap and 'joie de vivre'. His energy is not directed towards creating characters, or perfecting his art, but towards preaching and discussions and topics.

The discussions and the conversations in the inn are in turn so familiar and so monotonous that one would not care to read them twice. Only in rare cases is a new note brought in. Here there is one such note, and it is indeed a rare occasion. One would never have expected Doughty to know about, let alone to bring in his work, a note on 'Communism'. Doughty does not use the term, but it is unmistakably here:

> Shall all mens goods in common be henceforth;
> The marriage bond moreover should be loosed.

Another section "Wayfaring, towards the Valley of the Dove" gives the same, by now familiar, melange of news, of thoughts and of people. Townspeople flee to the country, and country people flee to the towns, and the lesson taken from that is: "Diverse be the counsels of Mens' hearts". News of enemy landings, and of bridges blown and roads blocked force Carpenter to use Doughty's old methods of travel "o'er moorland rough And waste" - on foot. Possibly the most used or abused phrase in Doughty's works is "As chanced", and here the chance is the casual conversation of an officer which leads again to a 'chance' typical of Doughty. One of them recites "a verse, Of England's golden Poet",

That in Doughty is always Spenser. Then follows a piece which might be Spenserian in meaning, and which is certainly meant to evoke Spenserian echoes by words like 'band', 'foster-child' and 'nourriture', and which is yet as far as it could be from the smooth lyrical polishness of Spenser's poetry. Although the rare introduction of rhyme in 'bend', 'hand' and 'understand' is nearer to Spenser than to Doughty, yet the imitation cannot be said to have succeeded. The result is as sterile as the occasion which prompted it.

> Dear Country, O how doubly dear,
> .....
> How much to Her we owe, that all us gave!

which reminds us of his earlier collections of patriotic songs entitled "Under Arms" (1900) at the time of the Boer War, with their wooden artificiality and hollow sentimentalism. Doughty in my opinion is never successful, whatever the genuineness of his motives were, in making his patriotic songs <u>alive</u> for us.

More exchange of news follows and the officer tells of:

"The Invader, Themes hath now and Medway Blockt,"

which could have recalled ironically, the marriage of the two rivers in Spenser, knowing what Spenser means to Doughty. But it certainly does not, for Doughty is not a conspicuous master of irony, of insinuation or of evocation. He is too formal, too direct, and too flat to stir these depths. The great faculties of the author of the "Arabia", which were masterfully controlled in "The Dawn in Britain" and frugally used in "Adam Cast Forth" seem to have died away. Even the slight flickers in the second part of "The Cliffs" do not occur again.

"The Clouds" is all on one flat level. We are not meant to probe beyond the words, and if we do, the effort is not rewarding. All one hopes for is for the poet to remain within the limits of the reasonable, if not of the probable. But even that hope is sometimes too much. An example of that is the news given us here of 'a secret chart' found 'on some arrested spy', on which the whole enemy plan for the invasion of England is, as it were, offered on a plate, 'By colours (!!) was then their objective shown'. And in case the hearer or the reader deems it unreasonable for the enemy spies to carry the whole plan of the invasion on them in 'coloured' charts, the bearer of the news goes one more step forward. "(I have it seen myself!)", says he, which is more unbelievable than the fact he tries to explain.

The home government does not seem less stupid than its enemy. The enemy leaves the plan on its spies, and the home government allows the Officers to see it themselves, and the Officers allow themselves to speak about it to groups of travellers they meet by 'chance' on the roads! Yet Doughty is serious and in earnest. And because 'doubt' is not a part of his world, it is supposed not to be a part of our world. The last resort in a discussion is the word of the speaker "(I have it seen myself)" which depends not on the apparent truth of what he says but on the integrity of the man himself, a state of mind typical of the earlier stages of the development of the human mind. This is not the temporary 'suspension of disbelief' but the complete disappearance of disbelief, and the total uninhibited trust in men's character and word. This is a world where the prophets' words are taken for the truth, not because the 'signs' show

them to be true, but because the prophet in being himself cannot be false. What Doughty wants to convey to the reader is simple, straightforward and intelligible enough, but this trust, this faith, this naive way of communicating the simple truth in fact defeats his end. No modern reader can suspend his disbelief to that extent, and consequently disbelief unwittingly creeps in, not only to the methods of communication but also to the message itself.

Now follows a passage apparently not linked with what goes immediately before it, except that it was part of the news given by the officer. This is probably the first account in poetry of the important role to be played by the air forces in wars. Although these were the pre-war days, and the days of Zeppelin, and it probably needed no great effort of imagination to foretell and describe; yet it is, to say the least, unexpected on the pages of a poet, maligned by most as being reactionary and 'archaic'. That airflyers' 'hands' would be armed with 'dynamite' which they would throw on arsenals and warships, might seem to us strange in our efficiently mechanized age, and the modern reader might explain away as metaphorical the words 'whose hands hurl bombs', but we must realize that the poet was foretelling the future, based on the early experiences of aviation in its infancy. A further and deeper plunge into the future follows when the Officer invites them to share his meal. As usual the meal in Doughty is nothing but another device, another chance for a round-table discussion of a theme. In this case the question is, "Shall warfare never cease?" to which Doughty's answer is typically neither philosophical nor theoretical nor religious, but practical and

scientifically pragmatic. In the United States, says the Officer, they have discovered means:

"So the air to charge, with wireless venomous waves;
That might be a Country withered, in a moment;
And all the breath of life therein destroyed;"

which is indeed a shot in the dark, not unlike the various means of destruction which humanity has come to know in the following decades. But this goes far into the future, and as far as Doughty's time and mind was concerned, the emphasis falls back on the human factor. The present tools of defence are 'The Sacred Band' and its supplementary body called 'The League of Patriots'. Soon orders arrive for the Officer to leave and we return to the travel-rest-travel pattern of Carpenter and Doughty.

The way now is 'towards Valley of the Dove', and as a first instalment of the bliss and joy of nature, we hear 'The blissful lark' 'pouring forth transports' and

"Caroling in Heaven's sunbeams, o'er England's earth;
Unwitting of the heaviness of men's hearts."

But with it comes the usual dose of hardships, of 'weariness' and 'fainting',

Last, in an high and desolate coast, I was,
Beyond all drift-ways; where, in leg-deep brakes,
Sweet whin, heath, broom and ling, appeared no token
Of humen trode; nor pointed finger-posts.
Were my companions only whirring birds,
And starting hares; all fearful of man's shape."

This is indeed far away from the heart of "The Clouds" and the poet is in no hurry to warn his country of the imminent danger of hostile invasion but we do not think we mind if the elastic framework of the poem is used to provide us with such beautiful verse. Indeed we tend to pardon

the faults of design and the faults of execution and the long stretches of banality for these few gems of pure poetry. These patches of natural description of either desolate wastes or green valleys occur and recur in various distances throughout each section of the poem, and they are nowhere more important and more central than here when he arrives at 'Doves fair-streaming Dale'.

Here we are nearest to Nature, in a part which is meant to be and indeed is felt to be, a real oasis in the middle of "The Clouds". Here the weary traveller, Carpenter or Doughty, alights and finds rest. But 'rest' is not enough, even if it is accompanied with the sweetness of 'tufted grass' and the beauty of an English river, where:

"I may drink my fill, and lie in the Sun;
And listen to Doves waters' trickling sound,
Twixt his two banks, mongst his grey pebble-stones."

Doughty must always have 'companionship'. Companionship means conversation, and conversation brings forward not only the usual gossip and news, but also an opportunity to introduce those topics which were always near the heart of Doughty, and which were part of the 'Golden Past' of his beloved England: its patriotism, its poetry, its vigour, its virility and readiness for sacrifices.

Here in the Valley of the Dove, Carpenter meets an angler and with him recalls earlier and happier days of England. It is possible that Doughty himself, in his earlier ramblings in the English Countryside, had once been to the Valley of the Dove, where he might have met anglers or even fished himself. It is Doughty's usual method to introduce into the fabric of his works earlier experiences of his own life. The Arabian

Journey has its echoes in every poem, and critics never tire to point at it. His only visit to 'Etna' is another. Less noticed but no less important are the echoes of his ramblings in the Valleys of Britain in the four seasons of the year. For indeed his experiences of nature, of birds and plants and trees, are never 'literary' imitations, but are always living experiences. Even within the context of a conventional 'Garden of the Muses' Doughty manages to make his natural poetry very much alive. Indeed it is much more living than the thin wooden characters that we meet everywhere in his poems.

Here the Valley of the Dove is much more alive than 'Piscator' and 'Carpenter'. 'Piscator', as the name indicates, were here in the midst of War and Invasion sitting fishing in the waters of the Dove. The name by itself is enough to recall to the mind Charles Cotton's famous dialogue between 'Piscator' and 'Viator' published as a second part of the 5th edition in (1676) of Izaak Walton's more famous book "The Compleat Angler". The poet, who does not trust evocation, is not satisfied with the implicit reference, and makes all his intentions clear later on, in the words of Piscator himself; for Piscator is no less a mouthpiece for Doughty than Carpenter himself. Commenting, for exrmple, on Carpenter's weariness of travel, Piscator shows some of the useful lessons which Doughty had learnt in Arabia:

> "Much wayfaring is a fever; and cold water
> Does ease; but not too much used suddenly,
> Outward or inwardly. I've known young men wither;
> Old men imprudent, even to die, therefore!

His words on the dangerous state of Britain are no less an expression of

Doughty's idees than Carpenter's:

> Possesseth my soul likewise that grievous thought,
> Sleeping and waking; we live days of dread!
> Our eyes see darkness, Britain's former State
> As Summer Light, is passed away from us!

That last contrast between the dark present and the 'former state' of Britain's 'Summer Light' makes it possible to recall an earlier better age in Britain and an earlier nobler breed of men, more serious even in their leisure-time than the modern breed of Doughty's time even in their dangerous predicament. The Valley of the Dove was the haunt of Walton, Cotton and their friends. Thus the Dove first and Piscator second lead us naturally to Walton, but the surprise is probably still there in the words used by 'Piscator' about 'Walton' which are usually kept in Doughty's works for Doughty's favourites like Spenser: 'my dear Master Izaac Walton's friends':

> See his Compleat Angler! bound in purple velvet,
> Lies, (so I esteem it precious), on my desk.

Since 'Piscator's' house was, as he explains later on, destroyed by the enemy and since Piscator now lives in a camp with other fugitives, the desk could only be that of Doughty himself, on which Walton's "Compleat Angler" was indeed conspicuous 'bound in purple velvet'. And when Piscator later on says:

> "I'd sooner lose some ruby, if I had it,
> Than this small volume, which I con by heart,"

we must be sure first that Doughty indeed had no rubies, and secondly that Doughty is telling the truth about himself and the book, 'which I con by heart'. It is not strange that Piscator then would use about 'Walton'

the same terms which Doughty had used about Spenser in "The Dawn in Britain", and about 'Jesus Christ' Himself later on in "Mansoul":

"In it
Perfume of Heaven is, and souls holy thought".

And sure enough 'Jesus Christ' soon finds His way to the pages. The poet will not allow us 'to deduce' the facts from the historical echoes of 'Piscator' being a fisherman like the Apostles of Jesus. Piscator says that in the beautiful natural surroundings of the Valley of the Dove, he studies

"to conform my spirit to his;
Which was conformed to Christ and His first saints".

Thus this 'Valley of the Dove' becomes an oasis of real life, of religion, of patriotism, of poetry and noble leisure in the midst of war and devastation. Nature brings music and poetry, and poetry leads Piscator back to 'my master Walton' and to 'Angling':

".... For Know, that't is an art;
(And meet for only very honest men,
As father Walton says)....."

For his last catch, Piscator uses 'a gnat-fly', and to be quite sure that the reader has not missed the point, Doughty introduces here the name of Cotton: "(A very killing fly, as Cotton saith)". And when they eat the fish he caught Piscator again completes the reference to Christ and the Twelve Apostles, for they, being fishermen, must have eaten fish, as he does now:

"(I love to think that they were fishermen!)"

'Angling' recalled Walton and Cotton, and the names of these two

recall their literary pursuits and the group of earlier poets with whom their names were linked. For Walton is the biographer, for example, of John Donne. Donne was a friend of Sydney and his sister the Countess of Pembroke, who in turn was a friend of Raleigh. Sir Walter Raleigh was said to have known and befriended Christopher Marlowe. The echoes reverberate in the mind, and Doughty was never to suppress or regulate or even sieve the various elements of a compound. All these are brought in. First Piscator sings a song,

"which long ago had Kit Marlowe made."

The song as one would expect is a Doughty imitation of the Tudor 'roundels'. And even in the days of 'Marlowe' it would have seemed 'archaic', of an earlier age, with 'ben', 'weed' and 'kirtle', and with the conventional 'herdgroom' and 'herdboy' and 'milkmaid' and 'Phoebus' of pastoral poetry. The spirit is that of Marlowe's famous "Passionate Shepherd to his Love" (1) and in particular the echoes of Marlowe's second stanza are reproduced here in the deliberately more archaic weaving of Doughty's lines. Marlowe here is not the bombastic dramatist of 'Tanbrulaine' nor the notorious atheist nor the dissipated secret agent. He is here as the gentle lyric poet of pastoral poetry, and the friend of Sir Walter Raleigh. These two points, of lyrical poetry and of friendship, are the two important noble qualities with which Doughty is here concerned. It is thus natural and logical to follow with the other poet-friends, and

(1) This poem and other like poems by Du Bartas, Drayton and an imitation of it said to be by Donne, are included in Walton's "Compleat Angler".

indeed Piscator sings

> Another roundel in the like vein;
> Sir Walter Raleigh, Donne or Wotton made.

But before we discuss the second song, let us notice the way in which the names of these diverse characters are yoked together. It is indeed to say the least, strange, and if we add the name of Marlowe before, and of Walton and Cotton after, the grouping becomes a little baffling. That they all wrote poetry, and that they were in their succeeding generations friends is not enough reason to have them all brought together; for other people, before and after, were poets and were friends. But in Doughty one gets accustomed to this sort of grouping. After all, even Chaucer and Spenser, whom he always brings together are so different in age and temperament, and in ends and means. Yet looking back from what seemed to him the chaotic diversity of England and English literature in the Nineteenth Century, Doughty must have found those earlier poets all birds of one feather. Doughty must be excused if he saw his earlier golden age, in a bird's-eye-view, of one great sweep in which only the dominant heights would show in any clarity, and in which distances of time and space and temperament tend to dwindle or disappear and only the general points of accord between the various authors become prominent. Each of these men was liked, studied and mentioned because in him as well as in his fellows Doughty saw what he was searching for.

Marlowe's main contribution was his lyrical poetry. Raleigh was a man to Doughty's heart, a man of daring action, of courage and

integrity, a scholar in his own right and one of the noble few, and above all that a patriot who fought and travelled and suffered for the glory of England. Donne was no less important, but his main contribution is his high moral sense which led him to be one of the pillars of the English Church in its infancy. Wotton was the typical scholar-poet-diplomat, who loved England no less than Doughty and lived in Italy no less than Doughty did. Both he and Donne became immortally named together on the pages of Walton's "Biography". Izaac Walton was the friend and biographer of both, and the friend in turn of Cotton's father. Thus Matlowe, Raleigh, Donne, Wotton, Walton and Cotton make a long chain of friendship and service to the Muse of Britain and the Muse of Poetry. The first died years before the last was born, and the chain lasts for more than three generations, yet their noble qualities group them together, and Doughty's eagle eye takes all in at the same time, and through them goes beyond to the noble qualities of a noble age, things which he cherished highly and which he missed sorely in the England and the Englishmen of his day.

The second song, the one said to be either by 'Donne or Releigh or Wotton' differs markedly from the first which was attributed to 'Marlowe'. While the earlier was more literary, more conventional, the second is significantly between 'He and She' and not between the 'Herdgroom' and the 'Milkmaid'. (1) While the first dwelt mainly on the beauty of both lovers, the second brings in the different though no

(1) Again another variation abundently used in the pastoral tradition, and exploited on the pages of Walton's "Compleat Angler". Both variations find their best expression in Spenser's "Shepherd's Calender".

less conventional idea of presents from the 'Fair'. The archaic wording is still there, and absolute words from Chaucer's time like 'Kuss and soot' are used, but here the language has a definite colloquial turn. The contrast perhaps should not be laboured, for both are conventional and literary, yet there is a difference, and the second is more dramatic, more alive, somehow more natural, as if it were a 'spoken' literary version, a poet's imitation perhaps, but of some old Irish song or of the earlier parts of the "Song of Solomon", while the first could be an imitation of those early songs of the first Elizabethan Romantic Comedies, as part of the stylized convention of the hero and heroine playing the 'shepherd' game. When Piscator sings thus in the Valley of the Dove, Marlowe is echoed:

> By shallow Rivers, to whose falls
> Melodious birds sing Madrigals.

These 'Madrigals' indeed are part of the evocation of that golden age, as much as 'the Valley of the Dove' itself, or 'Angling' or the names of Raleigh, Donne, Wotton and Walton, are meant to be. But in them Doughty again gives us information about himself. For here is the echo of his earlier studies of the songs, the ballads and the pastoral poetry of the 15th, the 16th and the 17th Centuries. Piscator, or rather Doughty, does not leave us in doubt as to which of these forms of poetry he liked best. What pleases him in these madrigals is the 'round voice', and the 'sweet sound' and the 'skipping rimes'. To them he prefers:

> Old ballads best me please:
> These goodly ones of the right English time.

Doughty remembers Robin Hood, Maid Marien and Little John and his early readings of these Ballads in Oxford. (1)

Is this a digression? and Doughty's works are indeed full of digressions. Perhaps it is; but here is Carpenter like all the generations of the inhabitants of England whenever danger came from the East or South travelling diligently to the West. Here he is in his flight to his refuge, to his 'home' and to a part of England which is still free, in the midst of danger and devastation, at the banks of the Dove. In the beautiful valley he meets 'Piscator' and with him travels emotionally, aesthetically, and mentally to a happier, more virile age, when people were nobler, nearer to Nature, nearer to Christ and his saints, in harmony with birds and rivers and trees, happy in their clean lives, in their clean pleasures, in their care for poetry and in their genuine patriotism:

"With rod and angle and gentle Izaak's book."

in a world where:

".....all things be fitly disposed,
And ordered, by the Giver of all good.
And so, without offense, to God or man:
I find the holiday hours to entertain."

It is for Doughty and Carpenter, and consequently for us, a journey both in space and time, for rejuvenation and pilgrimage in an hour of need.

That excursion into the Valley of the Dove, into the art of angling, into the art of poetry and to the golden age of Raleigh and Wotton and Walton, comes as we have noticed in a medley of other discussions between

(1) See Hogarth's list of Doughty's readings in Oxford.

Carpenter and Piscator. Apparently the whole is fragmentary, loose and slipshod, but in reality there is nothing more effective than the contrast of all that with the dangerous hazards of the present, the hostile invasion of Britain and the weakness and confusion of the English people. The contrast is not sudden or dramatic, but it is long-winded, loosely-knit, and subtle. Look at the contrast between the past and present even in the camp of the fugitives. Appropriately - and how often matters turn out appropriately everywhere in Doughty - the camp lies near a bay "Round-girt by mountains rocks", where

> In Britain's antique wars, tradition is;
> That hid hold, for a Place of Surety was;
> Whither repaired men from their enemies.

Even the "Dawn in Britain" is brought in and the various periods of external danger and national sacrifice:

> There thrice withdrew Caratacus his caterfs,
> There Roman Britons, from the Saxon sword;
> Saxons from Danes, lurked; Angles from proud Normans.

Now the cycle is complete, and we are allowed to turn to the present. As in every section of the poem before or after, the news of the war is exchanged between Piscator and Carpenter. Doughty, through Piscator this time, finds scope for yet another attack on England's 'malignant politicians', "(Called, in derision, Statesmen, are such blanks;)" and their 'purblind ken!' and then their political parties:

> Each party outbiddeth other in the State;
> That sinks or swims, but through the greedy vote,
> Of blind, vindictive, Mafeking populace.

And in that last line the echoes of England's defeat and humiliation in the early parts of the Boer War, which shook the later Victorians of

their complacency reverberate.

Piscator invites Carpenter to the camp, and the following section of the poem begins with their approach. The Camp is first introduced in prose. That prose is pure Doughty and cannot be left without comment. For here you do not have the richness and exuberance of the prose of the "Arabia", because there is no room for it. But still you do not have the stiff flat barren prose of the usual stage-directions. This is nearer to the arguments of "The Dawn in Britain" and the only difference is that this is shorter and more compact - halfway between the arguments and the stage-directions of "Adam Cast Forth". As short as they are, they add to our knowledge of Doughty's ideas of prose.

Here is a prose, vigorous, nervous, not smooth but jerky. As stage-directions go, this is naturally economical, but the economy here is different from that required by stage-directions, for words like 'And', 'is', and 'that', which could easily be dispensed with are included. The economy is more in the choice of words for their compactness and solidity, and the juxtaposition of words into compound words, where the solidity and compactness are given an additional diversity of meaning and concentration of sound, such as 'flame-lit', and 'supper-fires', and in the choice of epithets in the careful peculiar Doughty way that makes them always surprisingly alive. 'Daisy Queen' is normal and the 'daisy chains'. 'Shrill voices' are normal and probably 'wildground', but the pace is certainly quickened in the compactness of a 'flame-lit bry' and the sudden contrast of 'flickering shadows'. Moreover there are the usual Doughty

combinations like 'as wherein', and the usual archaisms like the usage of 'other' in the plural without the article in 'And other go dancing', and the inescapable Doughty inversions like 'And is that....'. Add to all that Doughty's usual excessive usage of rhetorical punctuation. But all these are qualities of Doughty's verse. And indeed if these lines of prose were arranged in metrical lines of verse, with no significant changes, they would not be different from some of his verse in "The Prophetic Books" or "The Dawn in Britain". The dividing line between prose and verse is hardly discornible - Particularly here where it is followed by two significant parts.

First comes something which the most romantic readers would accept as poetry because the subject and the manner are both lyrical. Carpenter and Piscator express their joy at the bliss of seeing children peacefully and happily play, and the images of birds in spring complete the conventionally romentic piece. But then follow the dry formalities of their entry to the camp. First, the Watchman challenges them, and then the registrar. A verse so typically romantic is followed thus by a verse so like ordinary prose as to belong to the similar mixture of elements found in Elizabethan Drama and in a way anticipate similar changes in the modern verse-drama of early Twentieth Century. (1)

(1) Even before Eliot, poets like Abercrombie were, with varying degrees of success, trying to widen the range of poetic drama so as to include the lowlands as well as the heights of human experiences, emotional, aesthetic, or humdrum.

Here in a nutshell you have the wide range of Doughty's poetry. Compare the earlier prose lines "Shrill voices resound: that linked with daisy chains, are playing; some at horses, leaping from fire to fire; and other go dancing heydeguyes, round around their Daisy Queen", And the next lyrical lines of poetry in

> "Yet the Earth brings forth Her flowers, the sweet herb-springs
> Unwitting of our ills; and cheerful songs
> Be heard of birds: (Were here, these stepping-stones'.)"

With these lines of barren formal prosaic verse:

> "The reason why, young man, I ask all this;
> Is an Order come down from our County Council;
> Made for arrest of spies: for some of them,
> Disguised, speak English perfectly. You may pass,
> With Council Truman",

which could easily be ordinary prose if it were not written in verse form.

This is no defence of Doughty's abilities, or I would have quoted other great examples of his poetry, nor is it an attempt to show his weakness, for that last quoted passage is nothing but prose in spite of the line-divisions. All I want to establish is the wide range of Doughty's poetry, so wide that it ranges from the flat plains of prosaic verse to the great heights of epic poetry. This mixture and this practical removal of formal barriers between poetry and prose is hardly expected from a poet dubbed by the critics as 'archaic', (1) and is indeed unique in Doughty's time. In the midst of those late pieces of 'prosaic' formal verse you encounter some sudden peculiar usages taken directly from the Chaucerian world like 'They a-warming sit!' and 'a new-come guest' and 'Faint, and footsore,

(1) Credit must be given to Professor Barker Fairley who has done more than anybody else to defend Doughty's wide range of poetical output.

forewandered on the moor". But if we excuse these usual eccentricities of an archaic usage here and an inversion there, the conversation is not unlike the group conversations we have already encountered. A councillor tells of his dream or nightmare about famine in England when men fight like beasts for bread. A merchant in another circle tells of the disruption of all buying and selling, and of the atrocities of the enemy. A gentlemen speaks of:

> "..... hunger-starved families, scattered to salt-shore,
> ..... feed on cockle-shells, wentle-traps, cast-up wrack;
> Whereof they a jelly cooked."

Then suddenly out of the blue is heard a voice singing; - the voice, we are told later, of 'Sister Gertrude', whose name serves as the title of this section of the poem. In as much as the "Arabia" has its reciters and its ballad singers, and "The Dawn" its different generations of patriotic poets who chant the praises of the Fatherland, and exhort to the heights the British Race, here in its hour of need, Britain needs desperately the healing voice of poetry. In the Valley of the Dove we were reminded of Raleigh, Wotton and Walton, of madrigals and ballads and the songs of birds. But none of them can carry the message of poetry here and now. None of them can be the 'Tyrtaios' of Britain today.

Here in the heart of the poem we have Doughty's mouthpiece 'Sister Gertrude':

> "But harken; how doth there from another fire,
> Soul-ravishing arise, shrill, round and clear,
> As throstles throat, empassioned woman's voice;"

In that second line the 'shrill, round and clear' voice recalls Doughty's praise of the same qualities in the singing of 'madrigals' and in the last

two lines, the 'woman's voice' is linked with the songs of the birds we have enjoyed on the banks of the Dove, and consequently with the songs and the poems we have heard there. It is indeed the voice of poetry and prophecy as it had been and should always be, the voice of Spenser in that golden age, and the voice of Doughty now in this sordid age. The first theme of her song is indeed the Spenserian theme of 'Love' expressed in the usual Doughty style:

> Love, heavenly-born, is breathed in our breasts:

And Love, Prophecy and Nature are linked together:

> Such daily outpourings, Sibyl-like, she hath:
> Warbeling on height, like as can other none;
> Save only the love-longing, love-lorn nightingale:
> That thrills the empty air, with living song.

And like the Nightingale she 'suddenly' sings, and then the camp is hushed, and 'suddenly' stops and there the camp is elated and happy:

> Like as that bird, which Inns in the sheen leaves:
> Plains now, now chides; exults then in his pride:

Then as suddenly again as if it responds to the songs of the poetess, and the beckonings of the poet, being with them in spiritual prophetic communion, a nightingale begins to chirp. In this beautiful bird song Doughty imitates phonetically the wonderful sounds of a nightingale's song. In the Nineteenth Century Keats and Shelley and later on Tennyson were the undisputed masters of the field. Any poet who attempted to do what they did, almost always repeated their notes and followed in their footsteps. Doughty did what Tennyson did, and studied nature at first hand. In "Arabia Deserta" as much as in all his nature poetry he shows an exact knowledge of birds and trees. To

the imaginative qualities of the poet he added the quick eye of the scientist and the quick ears of a bird-watcher. And in these his later years, the wonderful memory of the great traveller served him well. His lines are an actual recording of what he had heard, and yet he falls not under the shadows of the strong Keatsian-Tennysonian wings:

> Itchu, swat, swat:
> Chu Chi chu-chi chu-chi, chu-chi:
> Occhi wocchi wocchi wocchi wocchi!

The affinities there, from the literary point of view, are not with Keats or Tennyson. Chaucer seems to stand nearest. The phonetic recordings of the Nightingale's song are Doughty's versions of a Chaucerian convention. But the imitation is not enough, for the echoes then will be implied, when Doughty never implies but always explicitly shows his cards. He follows it with a piece distinctly Chaucerian in vocabulary, though as usual Doughtyesque and not Chaucerian in its inversions and its syntactical raggedness:

> He hymns love's bliss, with that small warbeling throat,
> Of his: which in fowls' tongue, seems clepe to us,
> Breme winter past, is comen in the forst,
> On Earth of Summer-gladness!

And that last 'Summer-gladness' reminds again of the 'Valley of the Dove', of leisure, of song and poetry, and consequently of the golden Age, with all its connotations in Doughty's mind and particularly with Spenser and Chaucer. One might think that it is too much to infer all the glories of the past and contrast it with all the dreariness of the present - in a bird's song. Yet there is no doubt that this, excessive as it might seem, is what was in Doughty's mind. Look, for example, at these

strange and possibly unpardonable human wedges inserted in the middle of the bird's song:

(1) On earth of summer-gladness! (Earth, where scant
Mens raven-spirits find aught but discontent.)

(2) Toti-si-chu-wihi; owih, hi-hih!
(Wherein each hour our brethren fall in death,
For Britain's life!) Hih-hi hi-hi!
Owih, huit-huit, churri, zdj-zdj!

Captain Worth, a wounded officer, then introduces us to a new Doughty venture. This is not a Doughty innovation, for it is older than the Renaissance. (1) Nor is it unique in Doughty's works, for it is one of his stock devices. The most prominent example of it is perhaps in "The Titans", where the poet pretends to be using an old manuscript of a book, which he is able to read sometimes and fails to read at times. Professor B. Fairley considers that one of the weaknesses of "The Titans", and does not seem to recognise it as part of a conventional device. Yet here it is in "The Clouds", used indeed on a minor scale, occupying a very small part of a section and possibly transformed in the process into a small ingredient of the larger work. Whatever be the justification, it is certainly less worthy and less successful here than it is in "The Titans". Captain Worth tells Carpenter and his friend that he was reading, 'a little book, of a few stitched quires', 'a poesy', which was committed to his hands by a dying soldier:

A friend's cold dying hand, now under clod.

(1) See, for example, Lydgate's use of it in "The Fall of Princes" (Book IV), where he says he took the story from 'Bookis olde'.

And as if the device itself, the 'book within the book', is not enough to tax the patience of his reader, Doughty lets Truman speak:

Truman: Was that a brother of the Sacred Band?

which might be considered, stretching one's patience to the limit, a legitimate question. But then Truman waiting for no answer, in brackets shouts,

(All owe them homage!)

And Carpenter in turn, again before Captain Worth answers, shouts also, again in brackets: (Love, undying honour!), and it all seems to be part of a hot but illogical Latin American demonstration. Captain Worth's answer after these homages in inevitably 'Yes' - How could it otherwise? But each absurdity, as we have already noted, is always most seriously assumed - on trust. Captain Worth says, 'I saw them, ...' and who could not believe Worth? Worth saw the members of 'The Sacred Band' fighting for Britain, and he is all praise for their sacrifices, their courage and their patriotism. The book he is reading is one of their books, and that is why this section of "The Clouds" is called 'A Book of The Sacred Band'. For nine long pages Captain Worth reads to Truman, Carpenter and to us from that book. Their conversation has stopped and we are transferred to the pages of the book. If "The Clouds" is supposed to be a play, then this part is 'a play within the play', unbelievable as that might seem in this fragmentary loosely-knit pageant of a poem. That in itself would be another Renaissance device borrowed. Doughty seems always to borrow the formal devices and the artistic tricks of Renaissance Drama without being able to borrow its flesh or bones or

depth of meaning. Within the inner frame of this book-within-a-book, he gives us exactly what we have been reading and re-reading in the various sections of the book itself. It starts with the same old themes of prerogation, of exhortation, and thoughts on the shortness and futility of man's life and his inability to solve 'The Riddle of the Universe', of the love of one's own country and the necessity of defending it against all danger, considering Patriotism as Religion. And then follow the usual prophecy of war coming, 'On Thee, amidst the seas, cliff-walled Isle Britain', and the impending storm is called 'Vast shadow dims Thee, Isle Albion, of dread cloud'. Those two lines explain the clear implications of the titles of his two prophetic poems. The first shows Britain as an island in the seas, walled and defended by "The Cliffs", and thus impossible to attack except by air, as the 'astronauts' did at the beginning of that poem. The second speaks about the war which comes to Britain nevertheless, in the form of a storm of invasion and disaster, symbolized in "The Clouds". Doughty's duty as a patriotic and a poet-prophet is done throughout this part of the poem in a long Tyrtaian harangue, which nothing commends except perhaps the apparent sincerity of the poet and the genuineness of his convictions;

> A deaf man must be shouted to: a Nation
> Slumbering: must be roused-up, by <u>trumpet-note</u>!

And to me this is indeed nearer to a trumpet-note, hollow and vain, than to genuine poetry. And here as in many places before and after, aesthetics are thrown to the winds, and Doughty is carried on to the far future, to the last steges of the war itself, and to the end of the Poem itself. He chides Britain and urges her to be ready for, and worthy of the help

that will come from overseas, from the 'Further Britains':

(Mother and Daughters, glorious fellowship:
A Fivefold Empire now, of Sister States:)

Seven more sections will pass before we come to the end of the war and the end of the poem, in the last section which is called 'Help from Overseas'. Yet here we are in the middle of the poem and the help from overseas is mentioned. But this 'Empire-feeling' was always strong in Doughty, who, as we have already shown, had sucked the patriotic feelings from childhood when Britain was on the crest of the wave in the middle years of the Nineteenth Century. Doughty would not of course look at the darker side of such a structure, or express the shortcomings of Empire-building. He was no less Empire-minded than the Kaiser he attacks so vehemently, and no less adamant in his belief in 'Pax Britannica'. In "The Cliffs" and "The Clouds" he is wailing for the possibility of the Germans using the British in their own wars, and yet he does not seem to mind when the British use the Indians in their wars. At the time when he attacks even the British Parliament, and shows himself as the reactionary conservative Victorian that he was, he speaks of the Dominions as 'a glorious fellowship'. Yet even there his idea of that fellowship is based on a 'racial' fraternity:

Of the Community of all English Kin:
One freeborn Commonwealth of the Island Tongue,

which ignores in one great sweep of the hand all the Indians, the Boers, and the various suppressed communities of the Empire of that day. Worse then all that perhaps is the Medieval belief, strange even in Victoria's reign, in the 'Divine Right':

Founded and stablished, by the Will of Heaven,
Is Britain's Empire seated, on five seas;.....

One more example of nationalism gone wrong lies in Doughty's great solution for the ills of his country, 'The Sacred Band' itself. The remedy itself is old enough, the grouping of all virtuous people, making up the topmost human layer in Doughty's moral edifice. As it goes one sees nothing wrong with it, if the use of the 'Sacred Band' of each country is used only for the defence of that country, and one must say that 'The Sacred Band' in both "The Cliffs" and "The Clouds" serves, as it should do, to defend Britain. But Doughty seems to have no objection to its members fighting wars in other people's lands. In "The Cliffs" (P.) he tells us of members of the 'Sacred Band' who fought in China in the famous 'Boxers War'. Now the word 'Boxers' was the corrupted English rendering of a Chinese word exactly equivalent to his own 'Sacred Band'! There you have the 'Sacred Band' of English patriots fighting against the 'Sacred Band' of China - on Chinese land. The 'poet-prophet' thus becomes an old tribal poet, fighting against other tribal poets for the glory of his tribe and race anywhere. The high moral tone is lost, the clean virtuous pages of his patriotic charts are marred, and the poet becomes a mere worshipper of his Country and Race even to the detriment of other countries and other races such as any petty reactionary pedagogue might do. The care for all humanity is lost in the selfishness of a racial outlook.

Weak as this part of the poem seems to be in terms of art or even in terms of preaching, there are some bright living embers still.

Doughty never writes dull pages for long, without giving us something good, however small as an ample consolation. Take for example the lines:

"Like to fair waterlily's leaves, that arise.
Large-spreading on some waters crystal face;
There they, in flowering beauty, proudly ride:
All nourished of one sap, from one stalked root;
..... ."

And sometimes some bright idea seems to hover on the horizon, which would seem to us, looking back from today, to have been prophetic indeed. Here in these lines, speaking about the peace that ends wars, he seems to foretell the creation of the 'League of Nations':

New Amphictionic League, shall over all!
Proclaim: Peace, From Henceforth, of the Whole World!

And suddenly this mixture of prophecy, of preaching and patriotic song brings us to the young men of England ready waiting 'With furbished arms' for the signal that would call them to defend their land. Suddenly we come across a stage direction: "Rockets be seen, mounting up in the distant night skies". We do not know if we are supposed to read only and imagine, or hear Captain Worth read it and with him we imagine. Until this moment the book-within-the book seemed to be a straightforward poem, but with this sudden unaccounted for stage-direction it is shown to be a play. 'The Book of the Sacred Band' is a play within a play! After the stage direction that young soldier, one of those who were said to be ready waiting tells us about the alarm, and about his actions and reactions and feelings at the prospect of going to the 'dance of warfare':

"Up Soul and Being!"
"Do on khaki, haste, shoulder England's arms!"

Which could be the words of the soldier himself, or the words of the

posts urging him to do so. But the following lines are surely spoken by the soldier. He embraces his wife, his children, his father and mother, and all these speak to him in turn and he to them, and all of them bid him farewell. This confusion of who speaks and who tells about whom, goes on into the following two lines, where the voice of what seems to us like a narrator tells us about the way the young soldier goes to meet his fellow soldiers. Then follow stage-directions which tell about the time and place of their meeting, and we hear soldiers asking questions, and their Captain answering them about the invasion and about the orders given to them by the 'Elders of the Sacred Band', "All Essex Wedges to the Coast". Doughty seems to have forgotten completely that this was a book given to Captain North by a dying soldier, and thus could not have spoken about the invasion as something still to come! Now the meeting also is a Doughty meeting, where all the action is given in a short stage-direction "(A sound of shuffling feet and grounded arms)", and all the rest is given up to barren patriotic chants and artificial rigid refrains in the worst manner of his (1900) book of War Songs. Lines are now given to the Captain, now given to the Lieutenant, and now spoken by all, but nobody, none other than Doughty, would have included among them someone he calls "Brother Hierophant"! This unnecessary inclusion might be aimed at introducing his favourite theme of priestly prophecy, yet even then the words given to the 'Hierophant' are no different from the words of the others.

> "Be Kindling clouds, before this rising Sun;
> Omens of slaughter; battle-fields, dyed in gore!"

might appear like a prophecy, but it is not a new note in the poem. This

confusion ends by another stage-direction which tells that "Two armed khaki-clad companies now are seen to approach, by a converging road". One is a Company of Native British soldiers, the other is composed of the helpers from South Seas (South Africa, Australia and New Zealand) and West Seas (Canada). Doughty's national anthem for Britain and its Dominions, "Song of the Isle" ("The Cliffs", Page 263) is sung, and nothing in Doughty's works is drearier than his patriotic songs. With the end of the conversation between the Captains this excerpt from the 'Book of the Sacred Band' comes to an end. We are suddenly back to Captain Worth, Truman and Carpenter. Why then would Doughty still want to add and add to it? Captain Worth says:

> "I find aught added on this overleaf;
> In hasty script, not easy to be read."

and that reminds us of the same tricks of 'old books' used by the Medieval and Early Renaissance poets and used by Doughty again in "The Titans" and in "Manscul". What we have this time is a dedication of 'the soul of the writer to Britain'. One would have thought the writer would be the dying soldier, but Captain Worth says some think the dedication was written by Sister Gertrude! And then again Captain Worth discovers something new:

> There's somewhat yet here pasted in the cover;
> I had not seen before! What?... Solons Hymn:
> Papyrus, lately found in the Fayûm!

Why 'on this overleaf' once, and then this time 'pasted in the cover;'?

Why did not Captain Worth see these before? And is 'What?' supposed to tell of his astonishment? Then, what are the italics supposed to tell? Was the line written in the hymn, or is it just an explanation by Captain

Worth? And what after all brings 'Solon', and what brings 'the Fayûm!'? Questions we should not ask and should never try to answer, for Doughty will bring in everything that comes into his head, without any scruples about aesthetic necessity or artistic justification. Solon adds to wisdom, the service he has done to Athens. He was the wise law-giver as well as the defender of his motherland. He was above all a poet, and thus was a suitable tool for Doughty. 'The Fayûm' became famous in the late 19th Century as being the repository of some ancient Egyptian papyri, discovered by different Egyptologists, whom Doughty seems to have known for years. (1) Greece and Egypt are used later in "Mansoul". Thus this digression could be patiently borne and generously pardoned, but Doughty does not stop there. Through Captain Worth he criticizes 'Solon's Hymn', and one is confused by the Doughtyesque erudition of the Captain:

> Moreo'er the term <u>trireme</u>, I mistrust in it.

But Captain Worth is nobody but Doughty, hardly in disguise, and he cherishes his book as much as 'Piscator' cherished Walton's book:

> Howbeit this little volume's written leaves;
> Would I not part with, for its bulk and poise,
> Of gold refined.

And Captain Worth, Truman and Carpenter suddenly go back to discuss till the end of the section, the ills of the times and news of more disasters are given.

Carpenter then leaves Truman and the Camp of fugitives to pursue his way home. Doughty continues the same medley among which are rare gems lik

(1) One of Doughty's mottoes comes from 'Maspero' the famous Egyptologist.

The Smith, a man was of not common parts;
But of a many-eyed instructed wit;
Conceiving, finding new not trodden paths:
Still ruminating many eyes thoughts;
From hour to hour: (witness, his listening looks:)
That like his handicrafts fugitive fiery sparks,
Seemed light from heaven, in his deviseful mind.
He would have hammered out this World of new;
If such had been his chance.

Look at 'Many-eyed instructed wit' with the echoes in the first adjectives of Greek mythological images, and in the second adjective the modern echoes of a word boldly made into a past perticiple, and then both used to widen the sphere of 'wit' which in modern usage was somewhat narrowed. Look at 'many eyes thoughts' where an ordinary hackneyed adjective in 'many' is followed by a rich fat noun boldly used as an adjective in 'eyes' (Spenser: "Faerie Queene": XXXIV, 6) and thus added fresh quickness and agility to the word 'thoughts' rescuing it from the world of barren abstrections to the world of visual sensual imagery. Look at 'listening looks' where the contrest on the surface between the adjective and the noun reveals an astonishingly deep layer of complex meaning. Look at the 'fugitive fiery sparks' which literally flits with life, and used to illuminate the quick turns of the Smith's mind which in another epithet is called a 'deviseful mind', pins the thoughts like a living butterfly caught between the pages. At last comes that Promethean last line, which sums up the spirit of pioneering in its immortal simplicity. That is how it goes in Doughty, barren poetry followed by such great poetry that one tends to excuse the dust for the gems. Then follows 'a crooked backed pedlar':

'one wont
To bear this World about an heavy pack,
Of needles, laces, pins'.

who reminds one not of England of the Twentieth Century, but of England of Chaucer's "Canterbury Tales". A shoemaker is introduced after. And with Carpenter, the pedlar and the shoemaker discuss the ills of the times, and speak about the future migration of Englishmen from their afflicted land to the Dominions. Thus comes to an end this section called "Carpenter Highing home".

In the following section, Carpenter continues his travels and his chance meetings first with a Constable and then with a Parson and again with another Constable. On foot and later by train with soldiers and again on foot, he fared forward, giving us every now and then an exquisite piece of natural description, such as this:

> (Thick Summer shower, like crystal ropes,
> From heaven descended, writhing, to Earth's ground:
> And gave wide mould up a fresh smell around.)

'A factor for the gentry' tells Carpenter of the enemy's occupation of several manor houses and palaces for its own usage, sometimes using the best 'historic halls' as stables for its horses, and breaking up the 'priceless heirlooms'(1) to kindle fires. Everything that belongs to the enemy is odious to Doughty's patriotic sense, so much so that even their writing in 'those crabbed Gothic letters', is said 'to offend the civil eye'. Enemy patrols are everywhere, and no Englishman can walk along his own highways without a written pass from the enemy. This prepares us for the shock which Carpenter is to receive when soon after he arrives home; but Carpenter himself is naturally not prepared.

(1) Read Chapter I for the history of that industry in Doughty's native 'Suffolk'.

Carpenter's anticipation of his return home, his recognition of the familiar landmarks, and the joy in his heart when he is able to say, "Thank God! My journey is ended", and the dramatic suddenness with which all that is shattered by the enemy occupiers of his home is most effective, and from this moment until the time he is allowed to leave and resume his travels, the poem becomes dramatically alive.

The scene at the Carpenters' home is important in the echoes it tries to capture of earlier literature of a better age. In the valley of the Dove, the echoes were mainly poetical, from the ballads, the madrigals and the songs of the Elizabethan Age, but the echoes here are mainly dramatic, from the poetic plays of the same ages. Look, for example, to the Shakespearean echoes in this passage:

> I mean, my Sire, mien sooner hath
> This, of ...., a London cockney! I would say.
> He's lean, mark well! he hath a mother too,
> And so have I: for her sake, I'll be kind.

The first two lines are pure Doughty, repeating in a way his old contempt for London Cockney language and spirit. What follows recalls the famous Polonius scene in Hamlet, although as usual the deeper ironical tones are lacking. Doughty is always serious and straightforward. The reference to the mother is said and taken seriously. Hence the last line, 'I'll be kind', which serves to extend the life of Carpenter to two more sections of the poem. I wonder why Doughty spared him here, for this could be an ideal exit for this weary traveller, and could be dramatically the most suitable moment for the poet to leave him. Carpenter lives on to read a message from his mother saying that she has gone to Wales.

Disappointed of his 'coming home' Carpenter goes on to the second section 'Wayfaring towards Wales'. This new departure on his travels seems to be the nearest poetical equivalent to some of the parts of the Arabian journey. Although the situation is radically different, nevertheless there are many similarities. 'Fowel' his horse, is as old and weak as his jaded Arabian camel. Like KhalĪl, Carpenter:

> Such nodding heaviness had; I oft was like;
> To fall, by moments, from my Favel's neck.

Like Doughty in Arabia, Carpenter in his travels thought of the greatness and majesty of the Universe, and the weakness and devilish ways of men:

> Wide shone the hoary heavens' abyss of stars;
> That hand by harmony above our heads;
> Unwitting of man's breath, his ways, his works,
> His wars and States, on dark Clot of round Earth.

Like Doughty again he gazes around at the 'thousand glittering lamps, Of heaven's night' and then at the 'beacon, friendly, fair' of the 'rising, lucid, gracious morning star!' and looks enjoyingly at the new dawn and echoes the happy songs of the birds: (Zit-sit, gi-gi-gi, pptdu, Toh-toh, thu-wi), and admires the rising of 'the Giant Sun'. Then after the oasis, comes the desert. Two mounted Constables enquire of him about highway robbers, and one of them escorts him along the way to the mountains before Wales, where there are the usual echoes of the past. Along the way rumours are rife of disasters in Ireland and Lancashire and elsewhere. But he was also told of the gathering of the 'League of Patriots' in the western parts and the welcome news of a 'new National spirit' springing in the hearts. Ireland gives Doughty the chance (or is it a chance created for the subject?) to introduce Roman Catholic rites and Latin

prayers, for when an enemy air force raids Ireland, people there think that this was the expected end of the World. People fainted; some cried and repented:

> Ran holy-water clerks; heu, heu, Domine!
> They sprinkled, confessed, houseled, as they went;
> A people, that grovelling, moaning, lay entranced,
> Convulsed. Cried the archpriest, standing in their midst;
> Absolvo omnes vos, from wicked works.
> (Such chanced had in a town, called Dallycath!)

After the description of the air-battle, comes the usual self-pity, the usual complaint of weariness that links the Medieval convention of man's weary travels, with these real hardships of Arabia, into a clearly Miltonic picture:

> I, in this lassitude, hating all that is
> To come and past; a World, wherein defraud us,
> Both men and gods, myself abhorring most;

and which in that last phrase is strangely un-Doughtyesque.

Later in Wales, Doughty the poet gets tired of Carpenter, and decides arbitrarily to get rid of him. While on the way, a discussion starts, at the end of which Carpenter says that the was weary and a 'husbandman' had him seated in his cart:

> Last now, the way to this next town, is passed.
> We hear begin to enter in a street.
> They each other said Farewell! have now dispersed;
> And I light down, in utter weariness.

That last 'I' could, of course, be Carpenter, but nothing in Doughty could be taken for granted, for what you might have come to expect, of seeing Carpenter go on and on till the end of the book is suddenly and unexpectedly ended. After one hundred pages and ten sections, in which everything was seen and heard through the eyes and ears of Carpenter, our link with him comes to a sudden end. Why send him away? And why do it now? Could it not be better to send him off at his home village and travel by ourselves on to Wales? But these are technical questions of form, to which Doughty simply turns a deaf ear. The following section is called 'Penmor in Wales', and the first line is:

Thus far I saw, when blent my vision was.

The 'I' of that line is not Carpenter but the poet himself, which transfers us back to the earlier world of vision, as if the whole ten sections of Carpenter's travels were not a realistic survey to be looked at as such and to be considered by their own merits, but simply as a part, unduly large, perhaps, but nevertheless a part of the vision shown to the poet by the Muse. That were of course possible, if Doughty was not, as we have shown, bound to forget it himself and be carried away or bogged down in presenting whatever scene he was about to present, with no over-all

synchronizing eye. Now the poet goes on to tell us in his vision the last of the 'young man Carpenter', sick and dying in an hospital. Doughty had no eye for the dramatic in the wider larger sense of the word, no flare for the tragic, or he would have used Carpenter's death as a vocal act of supreme sacrifice and atonement. But he goes out almost unnoticed, and certainly in vain. The central focus now on the vision of the poet, and the Muse who is still with us. The Muse could not look 'on mortals death', says the poet to explain the short ineffective send-off given to Carpenter, but we are bound to doubt it, since the poem is full to the brim with death and destruction shown to us by the power of the Muse. The Muse turns the poet's eyes towards 'A fortified station in Wales', called Penmor, a 'mountain head of ling, bog, sand and stones'. This is a strong army and air force transmitting centre. The first point here is a repetition of the wireless war, which we have come nowadays to know as 'scrambling', and which is probably used in poetry for the first time in "The Clouds":

> ..... signals winged, of men's sollicitudes,
> From the large compass of the aerosphere,
> Continually were received. Uneasy it was,
> To sift the true, from counterfeit messages,
> That war feigns to deceive; which still vibrated,
> Through the vast speaking Ocean of the air.

With that last great line equal to the best in Hopkin's poetry. The choice of 'Penmor in Wales' is as significant as anything in Doughty, and as important in "The Clouds" as 'Ely Cathedral' or the 'Valley of the Dove'. As he did in the case of 'Easthampton', he changed the name a little but not beyond recognition. 'Penmor' in Wales' could possibly be Penmon which was the site of a monastery in Anglesey, or more probably

Penmaenmawr on Conway Bay in Caernarvonshire. To the west of the town of today there is a mountain of 1550 feet, on the crest of which there existed until 1920 ruins of an ancient hill fort and remains from the druidic period. Even in the 'Neolithic' period, Penmaenmawr was famous for its factory making axes of igneous rock and its products were in very wide circulation in and outside Wales. What could be a better choice for Doughty's travels, westwards in space to the Welsh highlands of Britain and backwards in time to the earlier more virile periods in the history of Britain? The ancient stronghold becomes a modern stronghold from which Britain's enemies, today as they were yesterday, will be beaten back. This sense of history is shown in the tablet of bronze seen by the poet and the officer with its words: 'Here stood Caractacus'. Caractacus is the hero of "The Dawn in Britain" and the virile crystallization of the valour and nobility of the earlier (Celtic) British Race. Wales, inhabited until today by Celts is indeed the most suitable place, and North Wales in particular, where most the ancient Celtic remains were discovered in the Nineteenth Century is an ideal choice. Caractacus stood here, and the modern Briton, in this dire hour of British history is supposed to make this his last stand against the enemies of his land. Other than the actual land and race, the one sphere in which the past of Wales is still alive today is the field of language and literature. And the sense of the living past there is shown in the modern Eisteddfod, which is in the direct line of succession to the druids and bards of old. So Doughty brings in, in this part of the poem, a Welsh Bard:

Though men me call a bard, the royal blood
Of Howel Dha; and, (if Sir, I should boast,)
Llewelyn, Prince of Wales, throbs in these veins.

Why Howel Dha, and not any one else of the long list of the Kings of ancient Wales? First comes the importance of Hywel Dda as a King who began his reign as King of Dyfed (Pembrokeshire), but soon became King of all Wales and withstood the attacks of the English from the East (England) and the Danes from the West (Dublin). Second comes the fact that he was called Dda - the Good, an indication of his integrity of character, a fact cherished by Doughty in all the historic names he rescued from the obscure annals of the past. Thirdly comes the fact that Hywel was his nation's 'Solon', the King who gathered all the laws of his land. Fourthly, there is the fact that these laws were the most conclusive proof of the efficiency and the richness of the Welsh language even in those early days. Fifthly there is the famous division in those laws, of the bards into three classes, pencerdd (chief of song), bardd teuler ('household bard') and cerddor ('minstrel') giving legal recognition and authority to the first two classes. Thus with the choice of 'Penmaenmawr', the ancient druidic centre, with the bringing in of ancient British industry and civilization in:

'Men used, for shelter, an old mining adit;
(Whence lead was delved and silver in old time;)'

Doughty adds patriotism, history, laws, language and poetry which are the most important ingredients of his thought everywhere in his works. The officer, not to be left out, adds two quotations from Greek Poetry (even officers in Doughty could translate Greek poetry into English poetry when Doughty wanted them to do so!) Conveniently, that officer does not know

Welsh, so (for the sake of us poor readers) the Bard starts to instruct him in Welsh history and language: 'Lloegriadd, Knoro, is Saxon, in bards' speech.' ; or in the Welsh aptitude for visions:

> Hero, have I seen him soothly, in dream, in thought;
> Or call it what you will, in Saxon speech;
> It is a Brython vein, a Cymric sense.)'

While the Welsh believe in 'visions', the English do not, and they would call them dreams or thoughts. Notice then the combination of 'visions' with Nature in:

> 'This hill-brow looketh far forth, o'er glen and *llyn*,
> To waste salt flood.'

where '*llyn*' (Welsh for 'lake' and written carefully in italics by Doughty), probably refers to the beautiful Welsh folk-tale of 'The Lady of Llyn y Fan Fach' (See J. Rhys: Celtic Folklore, volume I, pp. 2-12: 1901). And the world of visions and superstitious folk tales recalls the magicians and the druids of ancient Britain. Asked about the rod he was carrying, the Bard says: 'Well cut and truly, from witch-hazel scrog, was
This virtuous branch.'

which recalls in its druidic echoes the divine place given to trees in Druidism, and in particular to the sacred oak. But the rod provides a chance too good to be missed to bring in Old Testament echoes, so that its legendary link is evoked with Moses and Sinai in these Miltonic lines:

> 'It springs from bush, whence was that rod of his,
> Which Horeb smote, and flowed forth waterbrooks.'

But to keep alive the Greek element, beside the British and Hebraic elements, he certainly strains it a bit too far in:

> 'Third moon fifth night; hour when,
> (So I'm credibly informed,) wise Aristotle wrote:

But the mixture of ancient poetry, pagan religion and witchcraft, classical allusions and Judeo-Christian lore with legends and fairy tales is not a strange phenomenon in Doughty's work or even in the works of other Nineteenth Century English authors. And we should remember that this was the period of scientific anthropological exploration - witness Frazer's 'Golden Bough'. But what is strange is <u>the way</u> in which Doughty mixes them all, and the seriousness with which he himself seems to believe in them. What Doughty believes in, is brought in, whatever the technical difficulties are. He would not stop until all is recorded on paper. A Welsh bard is perhaps as good a medium as any to give us some of Doughty's elf-poetry, but why bring them at all here? What occupied two long complete parts of "The Cliffs" must needs be squeezed here in less than six pages of "The Clouds". He could have easily dropped them, but not Doughty - never. And we are glad; because Doughty's elf-poetry is of the best elf-poetry in English, and certainly better by far than his barren patriotic chants which fill the pages of "The Clouds". This is not the place to discuss Doughty's elf-poetry, but this short fairy scene must be added to the exquisite parts II and IV of "The Cliffs" to make an important part of Doughty's contribution to English poetry. But to go back to the Welsh bard. Because many people do not believe in fairy-tales, he uses one of Doughty's stock devices to bring in the fairy scene. He reads what:

> " 'S recorded in old written books of poesies;
> In antique Cymric speech, hard to be read."

This is a device used before in "The Clouds", and used later in "The Titans" and later still in "Mansoul". In this 'book-within-a-book', he reads about the 'Elf-mote', the assembly of elves under their King Oberon and Queen

Titania to frolic and to marry and to make merry. The link between this elf-poetry and Wales is clearly made. The scene is read from an ancient Welsh book of poetry, by a Welsh bard who clearly believes in visions and fairy tales, and says it actually happened in Wales. What needs clarification is the link between this poetry and Doughty's own readings in ancient Welsh poetry. For 'these old books of poesies' he refers to, had become in the Nineteenth Century well-known to the English literary world.

In preparation for "The Dawn in Britain", Doughty had indeed devoured all the literature available then which had anything to do with his subject. He had not exactly used these Welsh sources in "The Dawn in Britain" except perhaps to evoke the similar atmosphere, for the period of his epic was indeed earlier than the earliest of these Welsh sources. But there is little doubt that he had known, for example, the surviving manuscript called 'The Book of Taliessen', where Taliesin sings in the court and during the battles of Wrien, a British King, who later became one of the heroes of Medieval Romances. Another name is that famous poet Myrddin or Merlin, around whom legends grew, and who was in time given the reputation of having the supernatural power of foretelling the future. No poetry by him exists; but later works are full of prophecies attributed to him. The oldest of these is the poem called "The Presage of Britain", written probably in the Tenth Century (the century in which Howel Dda lived and ruled in Wales). This was a kind of prophetic poem, in which the poet's patriotic sense against the invading English tribes probably outweighed his ability as a poet or his pretentions of prophetic powers. But what prophecy there is in the poem is given as that of Merlin.

'Myrdden foretells', it says. This could easily be one of Doughty's 'old written books of poesies'. Another could be the long poem called 'The Colloquy of Myrddin and Gweddydd his Sister', where the poet prophesies, like the poet of "The Cliffs" and "The Clouds", that the deliverers of the Fatherland from its enemies would come from across the sea: 'Princes over-seas will come on a Monday'. Could this be what Doughty is referring to in 'Supper Talk' (Page 131) when the Welsh bard refers to Merthin's 'notable prophecy', and to Wales as being the last stronghold of the British defenders:

> From mountains of the Eagles, (that
> Is Cambria,) should be Pryddins last defence'?

Another most important work which had a certain influence on Doughty's work and in which Merlin's prophecies play an important part is Layamon's 'Brut', but that is discussed somewhere else.

Something must be said about the texture and the vocabulary of this section, for if the Welsh sources are clearly pointed at by Doughty, the words of the passage point at another period of English literature as another main source of Doughty's. The bard refers for example to the 'witch-hazel scrog', which comes in Lyndsay and in Ramsay, and was used in Scottish heraldry in the 15th and 16th Centuries. 'Woodwases' is another term taken in all probability from Elyot's 'Governour (1, 148)', and indicative, consciously I think by Doughty, of the various disguises of noble men in Elizabethan 'Pageants' and Masques and Pastoral Drama as wild woodmen, satyrs and primitive men. The Elves again speak about 'Mennisc, in out Rig-moyr!' The first word means 'mankind' in Old English, or a 'human being'. The last word is a Sixteenth Century word

meaning assembly, meeting or discussion, from the Anglo-Saxon mot, and particularly in Scots it meant a hill or barrow where these meetings were usually held. These are few random examples but the whole fabric definitely recalls the Oberons and Titanias of the 'Pageants', the 'Masques' and the pastoral plays of the Elizabethan Period. These were the echoes of the past in 'Penmor in Wales' and as usual they are followed by the sordid realities of the present.

'Supper Talk', the following section, is still in 'Penmor', but it is a discussion of the present situation around the Supper table and the question is "whether yet the war were lost?" The Welsh bard, as expected, was on the side of optimism, of victory. His reasons? That Merthin prophesied the invasion of Britain, and predicted that the British forces would all gather together in the highland stronghold of Wales and therefrom start and complete the expulsion of all enemies from the British Isles. The poet then sums up the solution suggested by the 'Common Voice' to save Britain. The solution does not seem to be new, for it is based on Doughty's readings of the histories of ancient states, and in particular that of Rome - the selection of a 'dictator':

> All hearts cry out, for one, (great Scipion:).

This leads to the discussion of the actual happenings of the war, where all the 'Caucus generals' of England were defeated in the North, the Midlands and the South. With war famine goes:

> Where the rich pinch, the poor must perish, it is
> An old said saw.

And in this long, tedious (because it is not new) story of misery and famine Doughty seems to forget where he is and who speaks. He tells the

story, not as if it was part of the discussion, but as if it were happening here and now and as if he (The vision again!) were himself looking at the field and explaining the happenings on the spot:

> "I saw men fugitive, from their burning homes;
> They seemed dry reeds; ....."

Practically all the dire aspects of the war, which were already described before are described again - war, detailed accounts of battles, famine, parliamentary decisions, detailed news of enemy outrages and at last a detailed account of a serious mob insurrection in the streets of London. Here in this last part, comes Doughty's fullest account of the leftist agitations he came to know and utterly disapprove of in the Europe of the late Nineteenth Century and early Twentieth:

> London beleaguered, surging in her streets,
> Proclaim a frantic parricide populace.

The Paris barricades of 1870 which he remembered well, and the destruction in France which he had seen by himself, and the socialist movements of workers in Britain in the Nineteenth Century are all mixed together in the book of Doughty's mind:

> Vast thronging rabblement, Bedlam multitude;
> Would, (Such the insane fury of their hearts!)
> Marching with dire outcry, fire London streets.

There is no distinction in Doughty between the legitimate grievances of workers striving to get a better deal and the nihilist attempts of extreme malcontents. All of them are grouped together and the division is made between those who are patriots and those who are not. The goats have these doctrines:

> "The suppression of all private rights;
> Shall every bond and covenant be released.
> Unto all an equal lot, a common purse."

And Doughty's attitude towards them could not be expressed in stronger terms: 'Dread Carnival of Unreason! Homicide swarms,'. As usual in Doughty the blame is concentrated on the leader, 'one Mensworn', '(Captain-of-the-oppressed-people', he him calls)'. The mob march to the Parliament House, and that gives Doughty another (!) chance for an attack on the Parliamentarions, the 'Mendacious demagogues', and instead of giving the names of their leaders, he uses nicknames, 'Frampold, Darnel, Balderdash, ... and Dogface', 'sowers of mischief, stirrers up of mischief', deceivers of the Nation 'for only private ends!' The attack on them here is more bitter than anywhere else: he likens them 'to swine which wroot up grass'.

But just after this with no preparation whatever comes:

"Ships, from the Sister Britains, overseas,
Begin now to arrive....."

Better news begins to come in. An officer 'with intense looks' brings in 'airgrams' bearing news of the revenge London had on the enemy:

By wireless telephone, ye might even hear it! [!!!]
Is every bomb dropt, thousand Eastlanders' deaths.

Here comes one of Doughty's best descriptions of the effects of air bombardment. All this is, we are reminded, parts of the conversation still going on between the officers at Supper, which the poet, enabled by the power of the Muse, is able to attend and record. The poet moves on to tell us of an enemy air flyer who was captured by the British, and yet 'was nursed and hourly attended, /With Surgeons skill'. And he the prisoner (!) gives the Doughty lesson at the end when he speaks of their stonelike unity in 'Day of War':

Thus goes the tide never in a straight line, and never for a moment stagnant, but proceeding, retreating, going right and lift, mixing this end that, with some of Doughty's best description of industrial England, and a lot of his patriotic 'Sister Gertrude' songs of the 'Sacred Band' worse than which there is nothing in Doughty's poetry.'

And then suddenly:

> Painted my heart, and reeled this mortal Sense;
> And yet methought I heard the Muses breath,
> Saying Word. She erewhile spake by Colin's mouth;
> The Rest Untold. No living Tongue can speak!

And believe it or not, this is the end of the vision and the last lines of 'The Clouds'. Thus suddenly comes the end.

a fine example of Doughty's form. "The Cliffs" and not "The Clouds" was called a 'Drama', but any idea of a well-constructed, tightly built play, either on the strict classical pattern or the looser romantic models must not be entertained. We have already seen Doughty at work on "Adam Cast Forth", which we have discovered as 'drama' only in the widest sense of the form, decidedly not meant for the stage, and loosely, very loosely resembling the roving episodes of the mystery plays. But the Adam and Eve legend was built round a journey, and would recall some echoes of an age so primitive and so natural that the stamp of an artistic pattern could perhaps be considered alien to the nature of the subject, and its quasi-religious elements would link it more with the earlier looser religious attempts at drama in the Middle Ages and Early Renaissance. The loose form seemed to suit the subject.

Now in the new poems on modern themes, the loose form seems to spring not from the nature of the subject as much as it does from the temperament of the poet himself. For the poet had studied not only the earlier religious drama of Europe, which he had made use of in "Adam Cast Forth", but also the classical drama of Greece. In "Adam Cast Forth" we discussed the faint echoes of Greek drama in Doughty's use of the "chorus", but we fail to see any lasting effect of its influence on his work in general, and in the "Prophetic Books" in particular. One wonders what the result could have been, if Doughty had studied fully and tried to emulate the marble-like precision of the classical masters. It would have done his

muse a world of good. As it is, Doughty seems to have been by temperament immune from classical influences of form or pattern. 'Drama' had a golden age, not only in Greece and Rome, but also in England. Indeed England's greatest contribution to world literature was in the field of drama. And Doughty who had made of language and literature the chosen field for him and his dedicated service to his country could not escape studying its Drama. There is no doubt that he had studied it fully and in detail.

Beginning at the earliest period when Drama was still part of the religious rituals of the Church in the mysteries and the miracle plays, down to the period when the secular side began gradually to dominate in the 'Interludes' of the later 15th and early 16th centuries, onto the higher grounds of Marlowe, and the greater height of Shakespeare and his peers, Doughty seems to have studied it all. I do not doubt that he went on reading the later dramatists of the Restoration and the Eighteenth Century, but knowing Doughty's leanings, one does not expect these later products to appeal to him at all, let alone leave any mark on his work. Indeed his temperament and his eccentric evaluation of language and literature, led him consciously to look beyond the heights of Shakespeare and Jonson to the period before their arrival. In the 'Notes' Ben Jonson is called "Dunghill Ben Jonson",(1) and in "The Cliffs", for example, the only possible echoes of Shakespeare are appropriately:(1) one of England's glorious victories in which both poets felt pride - Henry the Fifth's victories in

(1) The Word-Notes at Caius College Library, Cambridge.

France (See Shakespeare's "Henry V", and Doughty "Cliffs" (page 26)): "And tennis played through fair wide fields of France". (2) Another fainter echo, because the situation is radically different, is the German Baron's words on blasphemy ("The Cliffs" page 50) which remind us of the greater poet's greater creation of Falstaff, on "Honour"(1).

One must admit that the echoes are faint, so faint that some critics would refuse to believe that Doughty ever knew Shakespeare or Jonson. He certainly did, and there are signs, though very slight indeed, of his admiration of 'Elizabethan Drama'. Hogarth quotes a letter in which Doughty defends his usage of "dialect" in "The Cliffs" by referring to the cries of the newsboys which ennoble the plays of the Elizabethan Dramatists. Of Marlowe there is a direct reference in "The Cliffs" (page 53) though here again the reference seems to be more to Marlowe the poet, than to Marlowe the dramatist. But we must rest assured that Doughty has indeed studied all his works. Earlier still are the works of 'Heywood', which are prominent in the list of books, provided by Hogarth, of Doughty's reading in the Bodelian.

Although it is nearer the truth to say that Doughty was studying, not drama as a form of art in these different authors, but their language and their ways of expression in the wider context of literature, it is still

(1) In "The Clouds"Doughty called Britain "this sceptered Rock" (page 139) which recalls the patriotic outburst of John of Gaunt in Shakespeare's "Richard II".

safe to maintain that early English Drama had a great influence on Doughty in general and on his "Prophetic Books" in particular. Indeed we will soon discover that the weaknesses inherent in English Drama in its earliest period, had somehow popped up and increased and marred these works of this contemporary poet. The weaknesses of "The Cliffs" and "The Clouds" are the weaknesses of early Elizabethan plays writ large. Indeed the form of "The Cliffs" in general belongs to the early examples of Tudor drama. It is not a coincidence that "Oberon" holds the sway in the non-human spheres of Parts II and IV of "The Cliffs". Yanun and Sheriot are the successors of "Ariel" and "Caliban". The great difference is that in Shakespeare's early Romantic Comedies, there is a unifying force holding all the parts together, so much so that the interchange of human and non-human scenes is not allowed to divide the play into compartments, but serves to widen the scope of both inside a unified whole. Now "organic unity" was nowhere a distinct quality of Doughty's work. Characters are not allowed to remain long enough to dominate the whole or radiate a unifying force. The action in the poem does not necessarily spring from the qualities of a given character or characters. Nor are the characters drawn to be themselves, or to show their nature in words or in action, outwardly or inwardly. They sometimes do that, but they are soon disposed of and the book continues without them, for they are nothing but fleeting points, flashing momentarily on the screen. Nor is there a unifying plot, for the unity of plot presupposes the existence of a limited group of characters, engaged in a

definite plan of action, which is not the case in Doughty's "Prophetic Books". There are always a good many characters and situations left stranded without use, or useful only temporarily to account for a certain fact or to expound a given theme.

Drama in Doughty never means the strict sense of a stage-play or even the semblance of one, for the central necessary focus of a stage does not seem to be, as it should always be, in the mind of the poet. If Drama is an objective representation of a human situation given in terms of action developing on a stage, then Doughty's "Prophetic Books" are not strictly Drama. Yet there are many elements of that in "The Cliffs". Although the poet sometimes pops up from nowhere to comment or change the trend of situation, and although sometimes the veil of using another character's words for his ideas is dropped, yet in most cases, the speeches are those of the characters in the play and not of the poet himself. Although the message of the poet sometimes is given in direct undisguised words, yet generally speaking that message is also rendered in terms of actions performed by the characters at the time and on the spot.

We need not confine ourselves to rigorous formulas about structure and unity. Just after the time Doughty's "Prophetic Books" were written and his literary career was in its closing period, English criticism entered on a phase wherein the search for "organic unity" which started as long ago as Coleridge's time, bore fruit in a passion for classical neatness of structure, and for perfection of form. Discursiveness was frowned upon and

inclusiveness was not considered enough. In the process great poets like Spenser and Milton lost a great deal of the magic and charm with which they held captive the poets, the critics and the readers of earlier ages. Doughty's loose structure or lack of structure was considered a fatal fault. Yet "organic unity" is only one kind of unity, and the details cannot be less important than the whole. We need somebody to discover the minutest details under a microscope as much as we need somebody to show us the whole panoramic view in a flash. Instead of refusing to let the poet lead us along the way, because we have presupposed the existence of a straightforward short-cut to the end, we should surrender ourselves to him to guide us through all the different attractions, or if you would call it so, the distractions along the way. Doughty's works seem so centreless, so void of a dramatic focus, single or repeated, that they always begin unexpectedly, continue haphazardly, and end abruptly. All seem to be in a state of continuous flax, and various wooden characters come on the stage, sometimes to spring suddenly into life, or remain as wooden as they were, but they come all the same in all cases, to have their time on the stage and then leave, leaving no traces whatever except the echoes of their words reverborating in the void. Others come and go and the same process is repeated again and again with variations on the same theme. Time, as we know it, begins to lose its meaning. What seems to be important is the succession of scenes, until the poet

realizes or supposes, that the message is conveyed and so ends the whole as suddenly as it began.

The succession of scenes is important, not in itself only, but also because of the accumulated effect they leave. Such has always been the way of humanity in all its earlier more natural, more pristine productions. Such has it been except in Greece and rome and later in the sophisticated cultural circles of Europe. The mind discovers and then applies an abstract pattern on the events and the characters in life and art; but the ways of the mind, its theories and abstractions are a later more sophisticated development of human faculties. Sophocles and Euripides, Dante and Racine, Jonson and Eliot are all sophisticated highly qualified intellectuals who stamped their works with their well-balanced internal and external unity. Not so was Spenser, so he suffers. In between comes Shakespeare, and he manages to satisfy the adherents of both ways.

But Doughty had made his choice clear from the beginning, and his choice was not simply in the world of subject and form, or language and literature, or the various forms of literature. The choice was fundamental and decisive and all-inclusive, and its effects far reaching. The choice of the period just before Shakespeare was significant; for what blossomed in Shakespeare must have started in Spenser and Marlowe. That explains Doughty's notion that the corruption started in Spenser's

lifetime, and corruption was many-headed like the Hydra. In the field of morality of politics it meant that men had started to leave the path of noble service to God and Country to serve their own ends, which led before the end of the 17th century on one hand to the disasters of civil wars in England, and on the other hand to the dissolution and immorality of the Restoration period. In the field of language, for language in Doughty's opinion is the expression of the state of man's feelings and thoughts, it led to the gradual enervation that continued until his own 19th century. In the field of literature and thought it led to theories and abstractions, to the apparent divorce of body and mind, of matter and expression, and to the divorce that was apparent between literature and life in the 18th and the 19th centuries, romanticism.

Doughty's choice meant going back to an earlier, more primitive unity of feeling and expression, of body and mind, of life and language. For him the unity was the unity of man as such, and of nature as such, and within the boundaries of that unified entity there could be no contradictions. In India, he approaches the members of the Geographical Society of Bombay for a loan of books and money, because they were 'scientific' men. A man of science could not in his notion be a bad man at all. So also was a man of letters. The works of a libertine could not be good literature at all, for language is the expression , nay, the outward mirror of an inner

self, and it could not be distorted. You could not accept the poetry and dismiss the post as a man. Not only intentions or behaviour, but also language and words could be moral in themselves. That was the unity behind Doughty's mind and work, and the neglect or simply disinterestedness in 'organic unity' was part of an over-all unified approach.

When we come to read his works we must remember not to apply our rigorous formulas of structure and unity in each work by itself, but to try to find his brand of unity. For unity of a peculiar kind exists amid the apparent sprawling incoherence and the abundant unconnected digressions of a Doughty work. It is a kind of unity different from the 'organic unity' of European classical literature and thought. Anywhere in the world you look, whatever form of art you choose, away from those highly civilized, highly sophisticated European theories of perfection, you will find the other kind of unity.

A more modern example, which is at the same time most ancient, is the modern jazz music. One hesitates to speak of Jazz music in the serenity of a Doughty shrine, but it explains admirably the naturalness and universality of the theme, for in that kind of music, each musician and each musical instrument starts at will and stops at will, with no apparent coherence of design of pattern except the accumulated effect of

the whole. Such also, though in a different world altogether, is the method of oriental music. It goes on and on, making its points, repeating them, contrasting and contradicting, echoing and reechoing, each musician or musical instrument occupying the centre once or twice by itself or together or in turn, but always in repetitions and in parallels, until the un-accustomed ear gets fed-up and loses interest. Each episode matters, and the accumulated effect of the whole is what the artist aims at. What gives the whole a unified effect is the unity of the theme, but not the organic unity of structure.

Even in Britain there lives a form of art, which does not adhere to the idea of organic unity. In Scotland, the music of the bagpiper is one outstanding example. In the world of literature most of the drama of the Tudor age, and the poetry of the earlier masters who carry on uninfluenced by the strict classical forms, disregarded the alien notions of organic unity. Even in the later masters, where native elements and classical influences were in varying degrees reconciled, influences of the rambling form remained still.

That exactly is Doughty's way. In Doughty there is a pattern, but the pattern springs from certain cycles very loosely knit, not in terms of continuous action by the same group of characters beginning action,

going on with it into a complex situation, and then gradually unfolding it and freeing themselves, or being defeated in the process. No, it is not like that in Doughty. The pattern here is repeated, with or without the same characters, but certainly the same theme, and sometimes even the same details of the theme repeated again and again, so that it becomes sometimes tedious and boring. The same note is struck again and again; the same facts are used once and repeated twice and thrice and brought out again later. The situation might differ but the same points are brought forward even if the situation aesthetically would not allow it. Sometimes Doughty pushes it indeed too far.

As an example for that we have shown in a detailed study how Doughty moves in "The Clouds". In "The Cliffs" it was his own mind and his own nature unchecked by any external considerations. In "The Clouds" as we said he was trying to please Garnett, and through 'Carpenter' to try to bring in an 'organic' unity. His nature was stronger than the opinions of the critics. In spite of the attempt, "The Clouds" is another example of Doughty's rambling form.

After the urgent patriotic duty of blowing the trumpet in 'The Prophetic Books', Doughty must have been happier to go back to a topic which did not indulge this personal note of alarm. The 'aloofness' which was, as we have noticed, so natural in him, is most apparent in 'The Titans'. The objectivity which was so essential as we have shown in his literary theory shows itself at its clearest in 'The Titans'. In the 'Arabia', Khalīl is a step towards objectivity. It was impossible for him there to be completely objective. 'The Dawn in Britain' is much more objective, being an epic in which he does not actually participate. But it is the story of his own fatherland, and the history of his own race, and the beginnings of his own creed and civilization. At least emotionally the poet was concerned. 'Adam Cast Forth' was more objective, but then it was generally speaking the story of everybody's first parents, and particularly as it were, Doughty's own 'Epithalamion'. In the 'Prophetic Books', as we said, Doughty was performing an urgent patriotic task, and warning his people of the dangers he knew were ahead. Later in 'Wanderoul' he was to give the world at large the fruits of his own wisdom, and the gist of his 'message'. But in 'The Titans' the objectivity is almost complete - as complete as it is humanly possible. The choice of subject is indeed his, just as the choice of 'geology' as his subject was his in his early days, and Doughty never, and in 'The Titans' more than anywhere else, allowed himself to be dominated by his subject.

'The Titans' is the nearest of Doughty's poems to the spirit of science as Doughty understood it. "If 'The Dawn in Britain'," says

Edward Thomas (1) "very remotely resembles Virgil; 'The Titans' in places resembles Lucretius". The Sciences of geology, archaeology, anthropology as well as mythology are the grounds on which 'The Titans' is composed. But science in Doughty's world is never the pure science of chemistry, for instance, or physics, but a branch of human activity, linked inevitably with the life of men, and seen within the wider context of the life of Man. Science is not the 'God' that sometimes is put above Man himself. Science is a tool for the use or abuse of Man. In 'The Titans', the first book is the only book about a universe without men, about the world before the intrusion of Man. The poem is made up of six books, and Book I is, in a manner of speaking, only an introductory chapter. It is inconceivable to find a work of Doughty's in which Man does not play a major part. Man is at the centre of his world - the realisation and consummation of all nature and all creation. 'Man' in 'Arabia Deserta' means Khalīl and the Arabs, and in 'The Dawn' means Brennus, Caractacus and Pudens and Joseph, all individual living people each with his own private world, and all living in the common turmoil. 'Man' in 'Adam Cast Forth' boils down to two individuals, a man and a woman, in whom all the species is represented, and who still have their individual entities as living units. 'Man' in 'Mansoul' is the realization of all men, an abstract concentration of the mental, intellectual and moral being in Man, yet given in terms of one person - a personification. But 'Man' in 'The

(1) The Bookman: June 1916.

Titens' loses his individuality, and his seperate personality, his 'subjectivity', and is given in terms of an indefinite, corporate body of human beings. We meet a priest-king in Books III and IV, and we see men as tillers of the ground and shepherds in Books II, III and IV. We meet dancers, priests, and even a writer teaching men to write in Book V. Yet it is the part which each gives for the whole, the little which each person contributes to the good of all, the sides in each which do not make each a seperate entity, but a unit in the body of humanity, that is indeed shown to us in 'The Titans'.

Some writers would have liked the poem to have a man, or a woman, as a hero or heroine, whose individuality would be brought in display, for whom or against whom the emotional susceptibilities of the reader would be allowed to work. But Doughty does not easily allow concessions when they jar against the main theme of his poem, and these would certainly have done here. In front of the elements, before and immediately after creation, Man could not stand as an individual, nor would the task assigned to him in the poem be easily reconciled to the limited abilities of one individual human being. The whole species of man, and no less, could be put in contrast to Nature in general, and the uncontrollable forces in Nature in particular. The whole species and not one individual would deserve the compassion of the eternal powers who would consequently help it to live through the threats of, and later control, the huge inhuman forces immanent in Nature. In a book about Giants and Titans, about Gods and Demons, man could not be easily inserted as individual men or women preoccupied

with individual side-issues. The individual is weak, and nowhere as in the pages of Doughty do we find an ever-recurring insistence on the feebleness and ineffectuality of individual men. Here in 'The Titans' Man is presented again and again as a weak old man, or a weak ineffectual child, or a weak bereaved mother. Only as a whole do men attain the wisdom of the Gods, and gradually are able to survive till at the end they control the Giants and the Titans. This neglect of the 'individuality' of Man is an aesthetic necessity of the poem as much as it is a step towards the scientific objectivity which Doughty always aimed at. Instead of being shackled by the personal problems of a Khalīl or even an Adam and Eve, Doughty was free to deal with issues transcending the world of men into that of Gods and Titans. The whole poem is in a wider, larger and loftier sphere than that of men, and than that of any other of Doughty's own poems.

It is natural for a writer on men among men to deal with men's lives and men's times. But Doughty was a geologist as well as a poet. Time for him was indeed men's time, but that was short and fleeting and fickle compared to the geological time he came to know. It is not simply the contrast between what he later calls 'the Annals of this Terrestial Mass' (Mansoul), where layers of rock formation and fossils tell the story of ages long ago. There is indeed a realization and an exploitation - a poetic realization and an artistic exploitation - of two different scales of 'Time' and 'Space'. Khalīl's thoughts in Arabia dwell much on the short span of man's life on earth, yet less than two years of travel in 'Arabia' produce two

volumes of inestimable human experience and noble literature. In 'The Dawn' the span of years is so expanded that the poem lasts hundreds of years, and space is so extended that it covers parts of three continents. So much so that many critics consider it too diffuse and too widespread and too ambitious in time and space. 'Adam Cast Forth' displays more symptoms. Paradise is remembered and the Earth and Harisuth are passed through and it is perhaps natural to expect a day in Eden to be equal to a thousand years of Man in this world. 'Mansoul', hovering as it does in unlimited dimensions of space and time is not at all specific. But 'The Titans' in terms of time or space occupies the greatest, even among Doughty's works. In terms of space, it seems to occupy all created space in sea or land or air. In terms of time, it covers the greatest period of time in all Doughty's works, 'The Dawn in Britain' and 'Adam Cast Forth' included. While 'Adam Cast Forth' looks backward to the infinities of time in Eden, it stops long before the end of the life of one being - Adam. While 'The Dawn in Britain' starts before the arrival of the Celts in Britain and continues till the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus, it still does not exceed hundreds of centuries of our time. In 'The Titans' time is two times, both continuing concurrently. One is human time where the day is a small unit with its smaller sub-divisions of darkness and light, or day and night, and its bigger accumulations into months and seasons and years and generations. Each of these gradations is felt keenly and expressed.

Nothing equals Doughty's poetical expression, for example, of the shortness of day and night in Shepherd life in Book II, or of the difference of seasons between spring and winter in Book I. His realization

of the change of time between darkness and light is matched only by the noble poetical expression of his awareness of the difference between Nature in winter and Nature in spring. Nature in its continual changes is indeed one of the beauties of Doughty's poetry. The beauty in that quick transformation of Nature from day to day and from season to season is as deeply embedded in his poetry as the beauty of the permanent Natural features. Permanence is the other side of the coin, another kind of time, where men's winter is only a night of sleep and dreams to the Titans (Page). While the world of Man changes so quickly, and the world of Titans, Giants and Gods moves so slowly, the deeper layers of Nature remain infinitely the same. And it is one of the beauties of this poem that it so swiftly brings us from the first creation of the universe to the last fulfilment of the Universal scheme in Man's supremacy over and control of Nature, from the first elemental chaos to an arranged civilized life in the modern world, and from the world of insensate primeval rocks to a world where Man reads and works and sings, from a world where the uncontrollable forces of nature are abused and misguided by Demons, to where they are harnessed by Man's knowledge and wisdom to work for the benefit of Man as the highest consummation of God's creation. Six short books are all that Doughty allows himself - But with it, the freedom he always cherished of his right to pick and choose, and dwell at large or leave out.

That freedom, which is indeed sacred to him, is used so freely in 'The Titans' that it lands him sometimes in trouble. Sometimes he pretends to be copying from an antique book he has found, where the

author tells of ancient happenings. Whenever he wants to drop out a link in the chain he would conveniently pretend that the antique text of his author was there unreadable. Whenever he wanted to dwell at large on a topic he would pretend that that is what the author has indeed written. Professor Fairley considers that as not only a defect in the form of 'The Titans' but also as a symptom of a weakening in Doughty's powers of poetic expression. But Professor Fairley does not say that Doughty's form has always been as selective and as free and rambling as it is in 'The Titans'. If 'The Titans' is weak in form, one does not see that 'The Clouds' is in better shape or for that matter the 'Arabia' itself. The pretence to have a book, clear at times and unreadable at times could only be the result of Doughty's acknowledgment of the attacks of critics on the form of his earlier books, and a device to forestall the expected criticisms of something he has always been doing in his works. Granted that Doughty's formlessness is endemic, I would say that 'The Titans' has within reason a recognizable pattern of its own. I am not trying to defend Doughty's ideas of form, for worse points than the one referred to by Fairley exist. In Book V, for example, on Page (117), Doughty writes, "The same day, I read:", as if the antique book is still open in his hands, and again "in antique chant, I read recorded" (Page 123), but later in the same book he seems to forget that device and use instead the device he has used in 'The Clouds' of the Muse on Page 125, where he writes, ""What furthermore, I of the Muse received: I will declare." and on Page 126 again, "He later showed the Muse", and again on the same

page, "That seem: me showed the Muse.....". On Page (127) we read "Yet in far field, Saw I embattled posts.....". On Page (129) he continues with, "When as the Muse me bade, I again beheld:". And at last on Page (130) he shows that he himself and not his pretended antique book is at work by saying "Of this enough!". On Page (130) again there is the parenthetical "(and everywhere War is, This day, alas!)" which Hogarth (Page 186) says is "the only one definite allusion to the events of two previous years" introduced into the revision of the poem all of which, except that line, is "a pre-war work".

There Hogarth seems to me wrong for that whole part on War from Page 124 approximately, to the end of Book V on Page 131 is clearly an afterthought added to the poem after World War I had broken out. That explains the careless change from the 'antique book' device to the device of the 'Muse'. The Prince calling "his young men of service" on Page 126, seems to refer to the King of England although the line "In desert place; Those fallen, unburied lie" comes from the memories of the War in Aneyza , between Zamil and the Kahtan. But the lines on Page 126:

> More worthy, aye, hundred times, were to be slain,
> Who set them on. May they be made, High Heaven!
> An execration! and their house ruin;
> Which, with that Murderer, (as lute-string to string,
> Responds,) partake; to compass others' deaths!

are most probably allusions in the manner of his later pages in 'Mansoul' to Germany and the Kaiser. It could be a later interpolation or possibly a later change and addition to the text, but it does not change

the nature of the form. Whatever devices he uses Doughty's poems are generally a series of episodes successively or progressively portraying his theme. 'The Titans', he himself wrote, was "as it were a series of pictures". (Hogarth, Page 186). Each of these pictures or episodes could possibly be a poem on its own, but Doughty's mind always works on the largest possible canvas, and the Canvas of 'The Titans' as we have already said is the largest he ever painted on.

Book I is the shortest and it provides the permanent frame in which all the episodes would occur. In its first lines, the very first note is that of change and mutability in created beings set against the everlastingness of the creator and the creative power:

> Neath Heaven's high stars, whereof we some see cease,
> .....
> There nothing is at any stay .....

and then it goes on to show how 'earth'

> Is full of variance, tiding ever forth.
> Alone the everlasting Throne stands stedfast.

Then the story of the universe begins at the beginning, when God created it. The way of creation conforms to the traditional ideas of creation in religion and the Holy Book, but the substance of the created world depends on Nineteenth Century scientific notions of :

> Earth: poised glowing C/lot:
> Heaped namely of motes, of fiery elements;
> (From whence the metal of all things derived;)
> Assembled to one place; of motes, whereof;
> .....
> Is full the illimitable Universe.

And soon, to Religion, Geology and Astronomy he quickly adds Mythology:

Skilfully he introduces the Miltonic equation/ between God's fallen

angels and demons and men's pagan gods and calls God'n angels 'gods'.

Milton in 'Paradise Lost' (II, 351-2) writes:

'So was his will
Pronounced among the gods.'

And Doughty:

Nor yet were named, whom late-born men call Gods

(Page 5)

Then follows directly the creation of the 'Titans', which provide the title and the main theme of the poem. The 'Titans' again remind us of Milton's 'Paradise Lost', where we read:

'in bulk as huge
As whom the fables name of monstrous size,
Titanian, or Earth-born, that warred on Jove,
Briareos or Typhon, ...' (Paradise Lost' I, 196-9)

and again he calls them "Titan, heav'n's first-born" ('Paradise Lost', I, 510). But Titans are a part of the mythological heritage of many nations and have been used through the ages in poetry. The main source in Classical mythology is 'The Theogony' of Hesiod, where the twelve Titans, offspring of the primeval couple Uranus and Ge, the Sky and the Earth, rebel and fight against the Gods on Olympus. And there is no doubt that Hesiod is one of Doughty's sources. But there is a significant difference between them. Hesiod's twelve Titans besides the familiar nature-forces like Oceanus, the Ocean, and Hyperion, the Sun, include also some abstractions like Mnemosyne, the Memory. Doughty was naturally averse to all abstractions, and his Titans are all typically rock-formations made alive by Demons. Their geological, Earth-Nature, is their main quality, and they are wonderfully drawn in his typical cumbersome stone-like rugged style at its best. Titans

in general are a half-way breed, with their beginnings in blind solid nature and their ends as great swirling active opponents in their war with the Gods. Like Milton's demons, cumbersome the moment they recover from the stupor of defeat in Hell, but quick and fleeting and witty and clever when they wake up completely, Titans seem to waver between the two states. In the famous Portuguese epic "The Sons of Lusius" by Camoens, the spirit of the 'Cape of Good Hope', a gigantic dangerous demon of storm and cloud, is said to have once been a Titan, changed later into a mountain for trying to seduce Thetis, the Sea. Doughty is careful not to make his titans too active and too much alive. He is so careful that even the volcanoes, which he knows to be active in Nature, are not in the poem equated with titans, but are forces controlled by Eagor. Titans are 'earth-bound', and the breath of life in them comes and goes, and the will to live or move or act is not theirs at all. (1) They are more earth-bound than they were in Hesiod or any of those who followed the classical mythological line. Of these the nearest to Doughty is probably the Nineteenth Century Italian translation of Hesiod's battle of Gods and Titans by Leopardi, whose name occurs in Doughty's Word-Notes. Another is the description and the song of the Muses in Ronsard's imitation of a Pindaric Ode of the battle between the Gods and the Titans. Ronsard and Du Bellay were poets whose work was very well known to Doughty. So much for the

(1) That is why there is no affinity whatever between his Titans and the Promethean Titanic forces or further still the Miltonic Satan or the Byronic Hero.

classical sources, for there are other sources that go into the making of Doughty's poem.

One of these was the Arabian source referred to, among others, by Fairley. Indeed in the Arabia Doughty wrote about the tribe of 'Sokhr', ".. it is fabled of them they are the offspring of these sandstone rocks (Sokhr)". ('Arabia Deserta' I, Page 17). But it is clear that the notion sprang from the name of the tribe which also means 'rock', and is in fact an ancient common Bedouin name. Speaking about the famous ancient tribe of Beny Hilal, he says, "The Semites are wont to say of the old nations before them that they were giants". ('Arabia Deserta' I, Page 22) Again this is a notion common not only to the Semitic stock, but practically to all humanity and Doughty knew that well. Nearer to Doughty's race and consequently dearer to his heart would be the British myths about Titans. The word itself, says Pezron, is a purely Celtic word, meaning 'earth-man', from 'tit' (the earth), and 'ten' or 'den' (man). Pezron again says that the 'Celts' were themselves the Titans, whose princes were the Giants of Scripture. And nobody who knows Doughty would be ready to ascertain that he did not read about that, or that it was not uppermost in his mind when he wrote his poem. Again the old books of/the history of Britain tell how the Island was inhabited by Giants when 'Brutus' came, and the legendary history of Britain started.

To this one must add the Northern myths, which in their Icelandic or Scandinavian lore must have been a certain element in the making of the poem. John Freeman says that Doughty is indeed following

a
X ~~A~~ Scandinavian tradition (See 'The London Mercury', August 1926).
Anne Treneer says in spirit 'The Titans' is akin to Old Norse poems.
X And indeed it is true that in its 'titanic' side, the poem stresses
the cosmic elemental powers and the blind brutal forces and the fury
of Nature so much so that it is nearer the fury of Nature in the
Northern spheres and to the brutal wild world of the Icelandic sagas,
of Scandinavian legends and for that matter, of Old English poetry. (1)
Later on with the arrival of spring, and later still when we come to
the settled civilized pastoral life, the tender winds of the Mediterranean
would blow, and a sense of sweetness and light would overcome the grimness
of the early titanic world. Now when the fury of Nature is still with
us, and perhaps a little later when 'Fate' (Page 27) issues forth, and
Norns and Wierds appear we are in the heart of an Icelandic saga.
Fate shows when the Titans are alive; so it is safe to say that the
Scandinavian element in the poem is attached only to the appearance
of the 'Titans' themselves. Whenever they are there, brute force is
rampant. When they are not there, the creative progressive elements
in life dominate. It is indeed part of Doughty's plan that whenever
Titans are alive,

wakes in their being,
Of so gross parts, dim sense of Earths unrest,

And when they walk,

Whereunder quakes floor of this centred Earth.

(1) Read later on in 'The Titans' about Aegor, the Anglo-Saxon Ocean-God (Page 37) and his wife 'Ran' (Page 39). Surtur, 'the sweet One', Lord of the Flame-World (Fire) (Page 40) is the name of an Icelandic fire-giant.

While they were asleep nature created plant, fish, bird and animal, and when they wake up, they are the only sinister element in a wonderful world of nature, of Spring, of birds' song, and joy of all living nature in the best tradition of Doughty's Nature poetry. The 'Titans' still are Nature's 'first-born', the point of cross-section between inanimate and animate being, between dead dry nature and living active nature. In them was 'existence' first, and 'living existence' second. They have 'sense' but it is 'marble sense'. They move but their motion is mechanical - 'stiff-kneed' upon their feet they move. They live but as "Long breathless stones again informed with life". They are Earth's 'first-born' but they are always 'earth-bound', not like Nature's later-born living beings. Life in Doughty starts earlier than in plants, fish, bird and animal. It starts even in the rocks. (1) The second part of Book I, one of Doughty's most impressive descriptions of the Spring of life with its joy and jubilance, with quick pulsating radiance or slow ruminating contentment follows soon in quick contrast to the Titans' world. In the flowers and the birds and the animals Nature brings forth its 'second-born', and the contrast between them and the first-born Titans is as deliberately marked as anything could ever be.

Book II brings Nature's third step - its 'last-born' creature - Man, the consummation of all existence, and the heir to all the developed qualities of life. He, like the Titans, is 'earth-born' but unlike them

(1) See also the mottoes of "Adam Cast Forth".

he is not 'earth-bound' and his spirit, unlike theirs, is 'seed of heavenly stars'. Like the animals he was created and amongst them was first found. The nearest to him (and here one detects the influences of Darwinism) was the ape: "... that misshape of Nature, which loath most / Is in Man's seeing, an hairy speechless beast".

Like the animals in appearance he certainly was, but he has the two qualities which seperate him from them and from the early products of Nature - understanding and speech - the two gifts by which he will dominate the world. Even before he was created Doughty wrote:

> Earth lies unpeopled wilderness:
> Wherein not yet is found the humrn Nation;
> To till it and subdue Her selvage mould.

But this development of man was gradual. Now in the early stages he is frail and weak and naked in sharp comparison to the strength and bulkiness and the huge elemental powers of Nature's 'first-born' - the Titans. Compare how he walks with the way they walked:

> Two-footed long loose-lockt, with wildered looks;
> Training his feeble limbs, that first man goeth:
> Gathering, gainst ebb, as his wont is, longs strand;
> .....
> What-so wild meat his indigent hand might find;
> Whelks, cockles, wrack.

And then Man begins gradually to progress and learn and change for the better. Slings, bats, stones are used by men, and later on the bow is discovered. Man becomes then a hunter, and starts to live as man and wife and learns how to clothe himself. All these were gradual steps in the progressive development of his powers. The first animal to be tamed and used by man is the hound which helps him in hunting. Yet one important piller of man's natural

supremacy was still lacking. Without speech men were "each a solitude by himself". And when he gets that heavenly gift, he gets that which:

> "hath none other creature which bears life.
> Voice have those without speech: but man hath learned
> Words, twixt his throat and quivering tongue to frame;
> Tokening the senses of his inward mind;"

And after hunting comes agriculture. Men learn to till the ground and grow their own food, to tame animals and keep their own domesticated breeds. Shepherds begin to herd their flocks, and with that comes its conventional concomitant, 'the fenny reed', music and songs and arts. Women learn the art of spinning and weaving. Human society has reached an advanced state of civilization. But the last step, one indeed of the greatest importance is that:

> He now towards heaven uplifts his feeble spirits.
> Man's soul enquires, in his amazed blind thought;

The image is complete by the presence of Doughty's ideal 'Head-of-State':

> A Priest-King those days was, of human flock,
> Father of counsel, meek, of lofty thought:

and a creed given him by the Gods in 'a sacred Vision' which he is to teach to all men. These are familiar notions in Doughty's works, but nowhere are they given in such an orderly exposition based on the anthropological and social ideas current in the Nineteenth Century, as they are here. Doughty's changes of scene usually occur in the middle of a chapter or division of a poem. The same device is used in 'The Dawn in Britain' as it is in 'Adam Cast Forth' and 'Mansoul'. The first part of Book I as we noticed ended with the stupor in which the Titans fell. From there onwards other offspring of nature were dealt

with, plants and birds and fish and animals until the end of Book I, and then Man's life at the beginning of Book II. Now in the middle of Book II there is the usual change of subject (1) 'Fate', in its Scandinavian or Anglo-Saxon garb steps forward to warn and prophesy, and her prophecy is indeed the logical result of what has been the trends of 'creation' from the beginnings of the poem - a feeling of jealousy felt by Nature's 'first-born' Titans towards Nature's last-born, the darling of the Creator - Man. And the consequence of that jealousy is a war in which the Titans would aim at destroying Man's well-ordered life, and the Gods would defend their latest protégé. In spite of Fate's warning, the Titans decide to wage war and begin to prepare. Their preparations are indeed extensive, and they send messengers to all the powers of Nature. They send messengers to the Four Winds, to the Sea-God, to Elemental Fire, to the Sun-God, to Night and to the Clouds. When the winds are introduced, the North Wind is bitter cold, the West wind is wild, the East wind is malignantly hot, but the South wind is gentle. (2)

> Eachwhere She glides, the Sunborn flowers unfold:
> Fair daisy, diadem'd with a silver fret:
> The nodding windflower, party white and red:
> And twinkling goldilocks uplift their heads.

And when it blows the world is at peace and:

> There in mirth and gladness, children sing,
> Gathering sweet posies, <u>Spring is comen in:</u>
> Green plot amidst is place of most resort,
> Where lads and lasses dance before the gods:
> Adorned with lilies' pride, their sunbright locks:
> Which mingles on their shoulders the Wind's spirit.

(1) A. Troncer (Page 294) calls it an abrupt transition.

(2) The division of labour seems to be arbitrary.

So it comes natural that the West Wind, the North Wind and the East Wind would consent to fight men and the gods on the side of the titans, and only the South Wind "now of Mans kin ... , inly loveth".

The Sea-God, Eagor the Angh-Saxon, in his "deep wick, twixt billow-buffetted cliffs, Which seem to fleet", was found. When the message is given the great God rises to the occasion like a true Divinity, like Satan in 'Paradise Lost', or like 'Sammael' in 'Adam Cast Forth':

> Disdaining, Sea God spake;
> Smirch my fair streams with ooze, and mirey warp!
> What reck I of Men, more than of other kinds,
> Offspring of Earth's dry land; or of Heaven's Powers!
> Or yonder crystal Firmament was spended,
> And Heaven framed, habitation of new Gods;
> And on seven edament pillers, leaned upstayed:
> I Eagor was.

Eagor is too self-satisfied, too much absorbed in himself to care for the titans or Man. He is indifferent to the fate of either, and he retires to the 'glistering Hall' of his wife Ran. So the Messengers in 'The Titans' give him one of Doughty's rarest examples of arraignment in poetry, and it is indeed a memorable piece:

> Moon-led, wind-ridden, Flood trembling at each breath!

is a fine example of Doughty's complexity of meaning, in its evocations of the popular stories of madness because of the influence of the moon, plus the scientific link between the moon and the sea-tide, in the word 'moon-led', and its partly satirical and partly scientifically correct description in wind-ridden, and then at last in the triumphant two-forked allusions in 'Flood trembling.....'. In fact this whole part of the poem about the four winds, the errand to the Sea-God is Doughty at his

best. It is indeed rare for this scholarly, conscientious and deliberate poet to allow himself to soar, and his fancy and imagination to play at large. Yet in spite of that he never even at the height of it allows it to run wild. Imagination is a human quality, and the Sea, the Winds, the Fire and the Clouds are not human beings. On one side he personifies each one of them, and on the other he always keeps them true to their non-human nature, and keeps himself true to his scientific knowledge about them. Like the 'moon-led, wind-ridden, Flood trembling...' of the Sea, we have Winds shown in the guise of birds - flying free and forming the skies.

Elemental Fire, called by men a 'Master-smith', is the Scandinavian God Surtur, and Doughty uses the image of a smith at work, but at the same time links it with the wealth of experience which he got from his scientific knowledge of volcanoes, Earth's 'flaming caverns, of Hell-Deep below', and his visits to Norway, Aetna and Arabia. The Sun is found by the messengers coming forth "Midst glad consent of birds, and melody on height", which is an exact truthful image of the birds choral singing at sunrise - and it is logical with this bright Spring image to expect that the Sun will turn the invitation of the Titans down, and decide to help Man and the Gods. 'Night' is shrouded in darkness, holding 'awey o'er murk-winged infinite ghosts' and he naturally agrees 'with dark dissembling nod' to join the Titans in their war. Even the 'Clouds' are made substantial 'In guise of flocs of wool, caught in the thorns'. Some are 'listed, as with gold, and dyed in blood'. Some are 'Udders of heaven'. Some are 'changeful daughters

of the liquid loft; With tawny outblown locks'. Some clouds seem 'steepy uprolling hills of snow'. And the wonderful poetry of Book II, ends with one of the great masterpieces, when Eegor the Sea-God lets out of the chinks of the Earth 'diverse kinds of creeping vermin strange':

> Earthsfield discloses now;
> Rife brood of griesly creatures; which had lurked
> Therein, since Time's beginning: where west dust
> Their meat, and mire their sorry dwelling-place.

Some have 'hundred paired horny feet'. Some go 'sidelong' 'on crooked crippling shanks'. Among them are scorpions, and asps, and those strange mythical creatures from Maundeville and the Elizabethan dramatists - the basilisks.

> With three-split tongues, wind hissing basilisks,
> Whose only aspect slays.

And one remembers the might of those creatures which in Marlowe: 'roaring shake Damascus turrets down'.

But one notices how Doughty's mind works on all the material he has at hand, choosing what he wants, discarding what he does not. 'Eegor', the Sea-God, is Scandinavian and he is not one of Doughty's Titans, since messengers are sent to him to ask his help. In Hesiod, Oceanos is the first of the twelve Titans. In Doughty the Sun-God is on the side of Man, but in Hesiod, Hyperion, the Sun-God is again himself one of the Titans. In this part of the poem it is true the spirit, as we have noticed before, is more that of the Icelandic sagas or the ancient world of Beowulf. The spirit and the vocabulary are archaic, but the texture of the poetry and the details of the piece are pure

Doughty. Yet the general frame of the work here, the idea of Titans trying to wage war on Gods is certainly classical. If the 'antique book' which Doughty pretends to copy were to be truly there, the most probable book would be that of Hesiod - 'The Theogony'.

Book III gives the account of the war. Titans march to the borders of Man's dwelling and then rest. Their one night of rest was in men's reckoning of time a long frosty winter-season, during which Gods descend unseen to see into men's readiness, and send some of them (seen) to advise the Priest-King. Men gather their flocks together and concentrate on their main town. Spring comes and Titans revive and leagued with Giants proceed to war. Gods discover that man is too weak to be a match for the enemy, so they impose a three-day stupor on everything in the world of Man. This last passage on the world of men forced to stop, as if the clock measuring time has suddenly stopped is again one more new note in the ever-changing rich music of the poem. This short piece of poetry looks backward to some of the Christian passages in 'The Dawn in Britain' and 'Adam Cast Forth', and looks forward to some of the poetry on modern themes in 'The Prophetic Books', in contrast to the Cloud passages and the war passages here, which look backwards to the Carnetrous passages and forward to Marsoul. The poetry here is absolutely simple, bare, and straightforward. There is the usual amount of archaism and the usual amount of word inversion, but the simplicity is akin to the simplicity of prose, except that no prose can be as effective as this:

The human kin, whether they stand or sit,
Swoon and lose sense. The herdsman in the street,
Among his beasts: on stool, the aged wight.
Still is each rumbling quern-stone: slumbers fast
The mother of the house. Sleeps the wool-wife,
Her loom beside. Fail; and their daily tasks,
Forget the diligent fingers of them both.
All voices, even of little ones, be then husht.
Knees sink: chins all, ben folded on all breasts:
Like unto flowers, that slumber in the night.
Die even the embers of mens smouldering hearths.
On cattle, that stretch their necks forth, in mens street,
Like languor falls.

The whole passage is intensely emotional, ripe with meaning and vivid in imagination. Yet the whole is deceptively simple, subdued and controlled as none but a master poet can. The only freedom he keeps is the freedom to use the older words which he likes us to use, and which in this particular case add to the wonder of the poetry. The words 'wight' for man, 'slumber' for sleep, are not rarely found in modern poetry or speech. 'Rumbling quern-stones' are not used in modern England but they were in Arabia. 'The human kin' instead of 'mankind' is not rare, and Doughty's 'the mother of the house', and more significantly his 'wool-wife' are words he coined and made familiar already in the pages of 'Arabia Deserta'. Of inversion there are some notable examples here but none of them is ugly or wild. It is a liberty put here for the best possible use. At the beginning he gives a simple straightforward sentence, with no inversion and no archaisms, but with the wonderful alliterative sounds of the 's' in 'stand or sit' carried over to the second line and very much strengthened in 'Swoon and lose sense'. - And then the full stop in the middle of the line, a familiar Doughty device which helps to retard and pull back and

control what might have gone rolling on under the effects of alliteration. In the second line again the word 'herdsman' preferred to the older 'herdman' which Doughty sometimes uses, and the single phrase 'in the street' followed by the ordinary 'Among his beasts', strengthens the over-all effect of simplicity and straightforwardness. When in the third line the word 'wight' is used it does not strike us as an archaism at all, and when we discover that in this sentence Doughty has cleverly dropped the verb we tend, as we certainly are meant to do, to belittle the full stop in the second line, and in grammar as well as in meaning, link both sentences in one unified whole which includes the three lines of poetry. The fourth line begins with an inversion, not unusual even outside Doughty. Here it brings to the fore the significant word 'still' which gives the main theme of the piece, and in its line stands linked and contrasted with the word 'slumbers' which starts with the same letter as 'still', and bears the same meaning, although it is a verb and not as 'still' an adjective. 'Slumbers' is thus strengthened, but that word in its turn, coming as it does at the beginning of its clause instead of the subject, sets free that subject which is kept back to be used with all possible vigour at the beginning of the fifth line. Like 'stand or sit', 'swoon and lose sense', 'on stool', 'still' and 'slumbers fest' comes the verb in the middle of the fourth line giving the same alliterative sound and the same meaning, and beginning its own sentence in another inversion: 'Sleeps the wool-wife'. In the following line in the middle after a full stop and before a semi-colon, there standing erect like a granite wall is the one word 'Fell'; a verb striking in its

complete contrast with what has come before. No alliteration links it with slumber, sleep, swoon and still, but the word is completely isolated as if it was dropped there the moment the Gods have decreed the stupor. But in its serious isolation it starts another line of alliteration, that reappears in the first letter of the first word in the following line 'Forget'. This line is indeed the first and indeed the only line in the passage which goes on unhindered and unchecked by any grammatical or punctuative device. And that line is perhaps the strongest in its effect because of the motive power of the strong epithet in 'diligent fingers' which by contrast strengthens the idea of failure and complete stoppage. With the usage of 'be' in line 7 and 'ben' in line 8, none can quarrel. Doughty's usage of older forms and his preference of the subjunctive sometimes runs amuck, but it is not here. The passage continues beautifully to the only simile in the piece, the one in line 10, till it ends with that last powerful image of languor falling in the street on cattle 'that stretch their necks forth'. This bare straightforward clever marshalling of facts is rare in 'The Titans', but it is no less effective than the rich colours of the Spring passages in Book I, or the massive rocky structure of the 'Titan' passages in Book II, or the war poetry in the rest of Book III.

From here to the end of Book III, it is the story of the War between the Titans and the Gods. And the war indeed poses a problem; the same problem tackled by other earlier epic poets like Homer and Milton. Like classical Gods, Doughty's Gods begin their war by first

defending men. They

... hang Celestial Shield suspended!
(Made of some metal, clear as crystal glass:
Shield of men's ever-living Saviour Gods.)

Like the war between the angels and the devils in 'Paradise Lost',

there begins here a war between the Titans and the Gods in which men have no part, although their fate hangs on its result. But that result is indeed a foregone conclusion. Like the overthrow of Satan in Milton's Epic, and the defeat of Hesiod's Titans by the Olympian Gods, Doughty's Titans were destined to lose. Indeed we know that already. Doughty has told us when man was created, that he was destined to subdue all nature. Fate had already warned the Titans, but it is part of their nature not to think or deliberate. Lacking wisdom and having nothing but brute force, they were bound to use force without wisdom. The demons guiding them were bound to guide them into headlong collision with the Gods, and against the Gods brute force without wisdom was of no use. Thus the two scales were unequal, and the result was known. It could not be a real war, supposed to give the reader the satisfaction he gets from tales of real war. Add to this that men were excluded, thus depriving the poet of a suitable medium in the delineation and the distribution of emotion, and depriving the reader of an object of pity and a subject of glorification. One cannot pity the Titans and the Gods do not need our emotions. 'The Gods' says A. Treneer, 'are not impressive'. The war to most of the critics was one of the least satisfying parts of 'The Titans'.

Still the War is fundamental in the structure of the poem.

Successful as poetry or not, it is in the heart of its development. As it was, human society was flourishing apace to the middle of Book III, when the Titans prodded along to attack it, and the Gods imposed a temporary stupor on men and their world. As soon as the war ends with the end of Book III, human society resumes its progress inevitably through Books IV and V and VI. In Greek Mythology and indeed in Hesiod's 'Theogony' the war between the Titans and the Olympians was just one episode in the long dynastic wars among the deities of Hellas. In some of the versions Zeus with the aid of the Cyclopes and the hundred-handed Giants (1) waged a long war against his father Cronus and the other Titans and defeated them and imprisoned them in Tartarus. In Pindar and Aeschylus he releases them later. But Zeus was not fighting his wars for the good of humanity. He was fighting, unlike Doughty's Gods, for his own selfish ends. The friend of man in Greek Mythology was Prometheus, the enemy of Zeus, and indeed the son of one of the Titans. Doughty's poem has no Prometheus, nor has it a Zeus. All his Gods are on one side, and all help Man. As usual Doughty has simplified matters immensely by grouping all Gods together and men together under their wing, and Titans together on the opposite camp against both men and their Gods. Doughty was always free to change his material to suit his own ends. Nor was he the first or last to do that. Shelley's changes in the Prometheus legend are one example. Keats' "Hyperion", though like Doughty's poem in its reviving of brute

(1) These were called (Hekatoncheires) and were different from the Giants (Gigantes) the friends and allies of the Titans against the Olympian Gods.

nature, still follows the Greek Myth more regularly. But nearer to the times of Doughty and possibly nearer his world is the work of the Swiss-German epic poet Carl Spitteler (1845-1924), who was indeed Doughty's own contemporary. Spitteler was awarded the Nobel Prize in 1919 chiefly because of his great epic entitled 'Olympian Springs' (1900-6 and revised in 1910). Romain Rolland called him the 'modern Homer', the 'greatest German poet since Goethe', and the 'only master of the Epic since Milton', and 50 pages of Jung's 'Psychological Types' go to an analysis of his epics. Still one cannot be certain that Doughty living in Italy knew his work. Yet it is possible to say that no poet in Europe writing at that time was nearer in spirit to Doughty than Carl Spitteler. Spitteler was indeed more intellectual, more subtle, and more complex than Doughty. He was moreover a convinced pessimist,so far in his general outlook from Doughty's facile optimism and faith in Man. Yet the affinity is unmistakable. Spitteler's great epic, for example, takes as its core this central point of Doughty's 'Titans', the war between the various Gods of Greece. Fate summons the gods from their long underground sleep, and they emerge fighting their way up the sacred mountain of Olympos, but unlike Doughty's Titans they occupy it and fill the world with their evil ways. Man is suppressed and oppressed. So Zeus creates Heracles and sends him to save Man. The poem is too long and too complicated to compare with Doughty's 'Titans', but the first parts of it seem very much alike. The end is not the same, since Doughty's 'Titans' have nothing in them to bring them victory, and his man is always safe and at peace. Another

difference is that while Spitteler's forces are forces symbolical of elements and faculties <u>inside</u> man, Doughty's forces are true offspring of nature in its materialistic side. They stand for the power of the atom, and the energy in the outer world and not for the spiritual or emotional or mental energies in Man. Doughty is a simpler man than Spitteler.

By the beginning of Book IV the war has come to its inevitable end. The Titans have been defeated and the Gods are victorious. Man is again alive. The war comes as we said half-way through the poem, and half-way through the life of man. Thus Doughty shows that the war between the Titans and the Gods, although very important, is not the main theme of the poem. If the Titans were the most important in the poem, then the war and their defeat would have been the climax of the poem. But in Doughty's world nothing is more important than Man. The poem, though entitled 'The Titans', is not meant to be other than the story of their subservience to Man. Thus the importance of Doughty's full title becomes clear. The poem is called "The Titans (Subdued to the service of Man)". That is why it goes on to Books IV, V and VI, to the point where Man becomes master of all nature's forces, the Titans included.

Book IV provides an opportunity for Doughty's most common practice in prose or poetry. Like Adam and Eve travelling to Eden, like the Old Testament travellers across Sinai to their promised land, and like Khalīl himself in the road across the desert, this early human community also travels, rests and travels again until they find water and victual and multiply and reach the river-side and cross into the new land of Eden,

where are prosperity and Godb plenty and a new golden age.
Everywhere in Doughty's books the pattern of an arduous journey makes the peaceful break which follows of the utmost importance. In 'Arabia Deserta', the short breaks of ease, peace and happiness are indeed haightened by the hardships of life and the cruelty of Nature there. Thus stands out the Nejumy house and Doughty's peaceful life there. But Aneyza stands out more, because the Nejumy's house was a haven for Doughty and his benefactor only, while Aneyza was a haven for all. This was the ideal government in an earlier comparatively primitive human community. This is where a leader of noble human integrity, who believes in god, and is confident of man's nobility applies in his rule ceptons of justice, born of human wisdom. Zamil was the prototype of the King-priest, and Aneyza the living example of a happy primitive settlement.

But Aneyza and Zamil are not the only source. Indeed Doughty's continuous references to the Morris Dances points directly at Elizabethan life and literature. The pastoral element in both Elizabethan life and literature and in Doughty's works is of the same parentage. Doughty was aware of the idealization of pastoral life as one of the conventions of poetry, and he used it here, mixing it with his memories of Aneyza. Lads and lasnies tend their flock by day and sing and dance at night and the

dance here is right out the pages of the "Arabia". And to crown it all, gods are with men. Ishtar, the Bright, (significantly a Goddess from the East) and the thrice-blessed Peace are there, and while they are in the World of Men:

None practiseth against other, none misdoeth.

Book IV is Doughty's golden age of peace on High, and peace on earth.

Book V does not break the pattern at the beginning. Doughty never does. His changes occur half-way through the part. Progress of man continues, and the most important step is the discovery of the "Art of Scripture", which significantly is revealed by divine inspiration (like that of Caedmon!) to a Shepherd, and the shepherd is given honour and long life. But then nobody would expect it to be a story of continuous peace and progress. Doughty had in front of him the living example of World War I. Even without it, he could not be as blind as to give a one-hundred per cent pure life to man on this earth. So the second part of Book V tells the story of malice invading the world and War released from Hell, and the groans of men, and we are not far away from the world of "The Clouds" or some of the passages of "Mansoul". And as he did there and everywhere, Doughty would never end at a pessimistic note. Gods hear men's groans. Man has hope in the Highest:

He loveth us! And in this Hope, we rest.

And the last word in Book V, is God's order to Pestilence: "Surcease!"

Book V thus ends with the end of the strife, and it was possible to end the poem here with the end of strife in Doughty's ideal city state.

If "The Titans" were to end here, the sub-title which Doughty had given to his poem would have had no meaning. The action is not complete without its reaction; the thesis needs its antithesis. The titans who were defeated by the Gods must be mastered and used by men. Man who was defended by the Gods must prove himself capable, not only of defending himself, but also of controlling the mute forces of nature.

If Book IV gives the Aneyza-type city-state as an ideal, we must remember that Aneyza was in many ways only a primitive city-state, which could not completely satisfy the scientific and intellectual needs of a Nineteenth Century English poet. This last part, the progress of humanity beyond the Aneyza-type city-state to the European Nineteenth Century civilization is given to us in Part VI.

Two prominent qualities distinguish modern civilization in Doughty's opinion. One is Man's 'understanding mind', and the other is his perfection of speech. Speech helps men to communicate within themselves

"Thoughts cry aloud, within his whispering breast",

and with each other, and communication means discussion, exchange and development of ideas. And that means more understanding. Men thus:

"..... cogitate,
Of things invisible: and, laid, thought to thought;
Commune of Worlds, and times and enterprises."

Understanding and more knowledge "guide the manifold purposes of his hands". The yoke, the plough and the plough-tilth in agriculture, and the iron and bronze and the Smith in the forge, and the invention of the wheel are earlier examples. But the next more important step which

follows logically and chronologically is not given to us directly. It is typical of Doughty to pretend - unnecessarily, it seems to us - that this is a new later part of the old author whose book he is copying. In between lies a corrupted part which he was unable to decipher.

The new stage is given in one of Doughty's favourite stock methods - that of hunters or 'seekers' who go on long journeys hunting for food for either body or soul. This time they reach the old battle-field where the Gods had crushed the Giants and Titans ages ago. But they do not do anything. Theirs was to look and see and go back home without understanding or exploiting the forces lying there unused. Ages pass again, and new generations arise. Again the subject is raised, but this time the source is - again one of Doughty's favourite devices - a 'seer', a 'diviner'. He in 'fatidic chant' tells mento go to the battle-field and fetch a giant and use its huge force for the benefit of man. Carpenters and Smiths prepare the vehicles, provisions are gathered, and a hundred strong young men start the journey to the battle-field. Another long weary journey starts, and because they forgot to pray and sacrifice to the Gods before departure, the young men suffer more weariness and toil. Only when they pray to the Gods, are they revived. They dig up a giant, and bring him home. And Doughty, who never found it easy to shorten the tale of a journey, finds it necessary to tell us that the ancient book from which he copies, is here corrupt, and does not show how those young men were able to cross the mountains on their way home with their huge burden. But the author tells about their arrival in town, the destruction of the Town-Gate to allow the huge load to pass, about the joy of the

Prince and the festivities of the people. In the morning the chained Giant 'wakens in part' and the huge force of his numerous hands are used to work the mills which grind their corn, to draw the water from the wells to irrigate their fields. The 'enterprise' is so successful that other towns emulate it and send their young men to bring more Giants to do the work of men. Gradually other new jobs are done by giants as time goes on; until ' in World's later age', these 'Blind mighty lawless elemental Powers' are used even to work underground in mines. And the latest step in the process, recorded by Doughty's ancient author, was the discovery by one main city, which Doughty calls "the Temple-City", of the use of Titans instead of Giants, for their greater strength and vaster resources of energy. With that we come to the Nineteenth Century and the age of science, and to the first country where the new revolution in Industry took place: England. It is not strange then that Doughty should give the honour of subduing Giants to all mankind, as it were, but preserve the subduing of the greater Titans to what is clearly his beloved England. After all Doughty was the product of Victorian England, when England ruled the waves, and Steam was used to pull the trains and work the factories of Britain:

> Obtained hath thus, ..., a first
> Dominion, o'er Earth's Dust.

The last loose leaves of his ancient rusty source, he pretends, was apparently written by another hand in a later age. And it is here that the discovery of the power of Steam in the later Eighteenth Century, by Watt and others, is mentioned:

"..... some hath found, how Fire;
Which gives both light and heat, ...
Being underput, to water in his pot:
Tormenteth so it; that yieldeth the eddying element
Up, of moist intimate bosom, a supreme effort:
Much like, though soulless, unto vehement strife
Of untamed beast; ....."

And then follows the use of steam in locomotion by George Stephenson

and others in early Nineteenth Century:

"Such yoked, translated to machinal quaint
Device, (fruit of Man's busy working thought;)
Complex of cranks and swiftly running wheelwork;
Which rattles to heaven, with noise of rushing chariots;"

But in the now familiar Doughty mixture of past and present, of legend

and fact, there follows the assertion that his antique author speeks

now of

"how stolen once was,
By Seers Familiar Spirit, high heaven's levin;
(Poets feign, even from the hands of the sleeping Gods,
In Bliss,) and brought down from Celestial Seats,"

which is a clear reference to the classical Promethean legend. (1) And after it follows an indictment of certain "Tyrants of States" which equally applies to the ancient tyrants as to the later Kaiser of Germany, but has nothing, in either case, to link it with what preceded it, or with what follows it.

And then follows what Doughty pretends to be the very last leaf of his antique book, which feigns to look across the years to the future. But Doughty's ideas of the future are as crude and childish as they could go, for one hesitates to consider:

(1) See also the chapter on "Mansoul" and its allusions to the Prometheus legend.

"..... how divided into States,
Should be this Later-World: When every State,
Some hundred-membered Titans power should serve."

as a real and genuine image of man's future development. Doughty says that in each future generation 'seekers' will seek and find "some secret of the Gods; At each new depth." When he enumerates the new possibilities of scientific research we discover that practically all were already arrived at when Doughty was writing his book. Doughty's imagination was not so great in insight or depth as to be able to draw the perfect world of the future:

"With mighty engines strange;
The eternal hills, mens laterword sons should pierce;
And lay o'er floods, a causeway, for their chariots."

And again, we have:

"Shall Man, amidst the misty skies usurp
A new highway, above the hills; and ride,
(More swiftly, than can wingborne fowl, in flight
Therein; as doth the dragon-fly, to and forth;"

which is a reference to aviation, used already by Doughty himself in his "Prophetic Books". To this he adds the prospects in the sciences of Astrology, Geology and Archaeology, which were his pet sciences all through his long life.

In "Astrology", the 'seers' interpret

Shall starry motions of vast Universe;
And weigh the lofty air, in balances;
And poise those shining stars; .....
And mete the beam of light;
.....
And it resolve.

Scientists will be able also through 'mathesis' to discern:

"The Adamantine Elements;
Couched indivisible particles; motes, which cannot
Man's sense devise, whereof all things consist:...."

With superior knowledge,

"at his list;
He unbinds them, and anew upkints."

which <u>might</u> (because he does not develop it more) be a reference to the research work done on radioactivity, and the atom, its breaking and its synthesis - subjects made the topic of the day in late-Nineteenth and early Twentieth Century by the efforts of Rutherford and others.

In turning to Geology he turns to his link with the past, and an Old Testament note of creation creeps in in:

Beasts, fowl, and fry of fishes: all life's breath;
In endless generations, on Her Face:
Man's understanding orders them in ranks;
And calleth each kind by name.

And thus the poem ends with a reference to Man's contemplation of:

Time present, and long memory of ages past.

Thus ends the last book which interesting as it is in its references to the scientific discoveries of the modern age, seemed to most critics in the whole disappointing. Anne Treneer says that his attempt to bridge the centuries to the modern scientific age is a failure in spite of his "valiant effort". Edward Thomas says that "Perhaps he knew better where to begin than where to break off". Fairley who is generally the most ardent defender of Doughty explains it by saying that the age of science here is drawn "as a primitive would see it". But he does not explain why it was necessary to invent 'a primitive' to explain the scientific facts of modern European knowledge. As Edward Thomas again remarks, "The end is somewhere far on in primitive culture". The ability to simplify and draw sharply the bones of the skeleton, which was the

prime factor in Doughty's success in "Adam Cast Forth", and in the earlier books of "The Titans" itself, has failed miserably in this last part of the same poem. The scientific references needed no peg of an invented antique book to hang on to. They could easily do without it.

However, this is the way the mind of Doughty works. It is not a simple temporary device on the spur of the moment, but a permanent feature of his creative self. "The Titans" was written just before, and in part during, the First World War, but the idea of the poem was in his mind years before that time. Most of it is indeed included in his great epic "The Dawn in Britain", although there it does not play a significant part. It is there a story told in the chant of the bard Talaith (Book XXIV, Page 664-666). The story of the war between Gods and Giants is told at length. But that is only the nucleus around which this chip of an epic was later built, to become the nearest of the works of Doughty the poet to the studies of Doughty the scientist.

When he was writing "The Dawn", the theme of the war between Giants and Gods was uppermost in his mind, but in "The Titans" that theme becomes part of the larger theme of power. The power of men, defended and helped earlier by the Gods, grows until it subdues the power of the Titans. Man with his mental powers grows into a being not very much less than the Gods themselves, so much so that he harnesses powers which in the past aspired to defeat the Gods themselves. Thus "The Titans" becomes the poem in which this familiar Doughty theme takes its fullest expression.

From the beginning man's knowledge of geology increased to enable skill to describe nature, dead first and then quickening with new life to the

The title of Doughty's last published work recalls instantly the name of an English author who is not mentioned specifically anywhere in his books - the name of Bunyan. We have already noticed the name of Bunyan among the authors represented in the library at Theberton Hall, and commented upon the certain influence he must have had on young Doughty's impressionable mind. It is also possible to link Bunyan with Doughty's moral seriousness and sense of dedication throughout his long life. Yet the differences between the two authors are as noticeable as the links between them, for morality is not exactly religion. Neither is Doughty's humanitarianism very much like Bunyan's brand of fervent Christianity, nor Bunyan's allegorical methods like Doughty's methods. It is strange indeed that Doughty whose outlook and methods had so much in common with the world of the later Medieval Age and Early Renaissance, and who considered himself the heir to the ways of Chaucer, Gower and Langland, of Lydgate, Skelton, More, Sydney and Spenser, does not inherit the main artistic vehicle of their thoughts - the Allegory. Any casual study would show that Allegory was not for those poets one of the various ways of artistic expression, but was indeed the main frame in which the mind of man in that age found its natural method of functioning. Within the outer frame of the Allegory the poet had all the freedom he needed, but outside it he would have been lost. Chaucer used it so masterfully that it became the dominant literary form for centuries to come. Langland used it in his masterpiece "The Vision of Piers Plowman" as a vehicle for his criticism of his age. Sir Thomas More used it in his great work "Utopia" to show the ideal ways of governing a country. In drama the

best products of the Pre-Elizabethan Age were allegorical. The miracle plays and the moralities of the 15th and 16th Centuries which were certainly studied carefully by Doughty were based on 'Allegory', and the most famous of them all "Everyman" had a great bearing on his work in general, and 'Mansoul' in particular. In poetry Spenser's patriotic epic "The Faerie Queene" is the most outstanding example, but other shorter and less important works were again allegorical. Although it is true that Bunyan's famous books are the best and most perfect examples of allegorical expression in the field of literary prose, we should not forget that he was then the heir of a long and rich strain which had its sources in the classical literature of Greece and Rome as well as in the 'parables', the short allegories of the Holy Book, and the writings of the Christian apologists. In the famous morality play "Everyman" was the prototype of Man; in Bunyan he was called 'Christian', and his city was called 'Mansoul'. (2)

Doughty, as we said, considered himself the peer and heir of Chaucer, Langland, Skelton and Spenser; yet neither the 'Arabin' nor 'The Dawn in Britain', nor even 'Adam Cast Forth', could be treated as 'Allegories'. There, in a way, Doughty was moving farther away from, or to put it more bluntly, moving against features of literary expression very much like the Allegory. Those were stories of men busy living a

(1) See the second chapter on 'Doughty's Literary Studies' and the 6th chapter on 'Adam Cast Forth'.

(2) Bunyan's 'The Pilgrim's Progress' and 'The Holy War', where the city is besieged.

life like the actual life of men on earth, and not personified abstractions living in a world other than that of the practical world, parallel to it and in most cases very much like it, but still on a level different from it. Doughty could not and would not always continue on the same abstract upper sphere of Allegorical expression. His world was different, and his aims were different. Sometimes you have flights of imagination, and sometimes you have dreams. But Doughty's feet are always on the ground. Like Anateus, he gets his strength from the earth, and like Ariel he sometimes flies to the heavens. As a scientist and a geologist he was dead against any kind of abstraction, concentrating on the visual formation of the earth, its rocks and plains and trees. As a poet he was able to soar above and fly to the 'Garden of the Muse' and converse with Gods, Goddesses, Angels and Elves. As an archeologist and a geographer he was a realist. As a poet he was a 'Vates', a poet in the old sense of the word, able to dream and prognosticate and create, and commune with Gods. But the world of dreams and the power of divination and prophecy was only a part and not the whole of Doughty's world. Therein he differed from Spenser, Bunyan and the Allegorists. The other side in Doughty, the geologist, the archeologist and the man of this practical realistic Nineteenth Century world could not easily pour his thoughts in the Medieval mould of the Allegory. Even by the time of Bunyan the Allegory as an inclusive frame, as the main structure within which all personified abstractions moved, was dead. In the Nineteenth Century the full allegorical scheme was indeed alien to the methods of most poets. Doughty uses some of its features but he does

not depend completely on it as Spenser did. Therein lies, in my opinion, the main difference between Doughty and those earlier poets whom he considers his masters. The critic will be well advised to remember this fundamental difference in discussing Doughty's relation with the Renaissance in general and with Chaucer and Spenser in particular. (1) While Spenser's main work "The Faerie Queene" must be dealt with as an allegory, Doughty's main work 'The Dawn in Britain' clearly could not be treated as such. Doughty insists on practicability, keeps almost always scientific objectivity and the movement is always towards the simplification of character, action and theme. Although Gods and Goddesses come and go, and bards chant and prophesy, although the epic contains certain elements common to and agreeing with allegorical poetry, Doughty keeps generally clear of abstractions or thematic idealization or figurative high-falutin' speech. In 'The Dawn in Britain' Doughty always has his feet firmly established on the ground. This is the main difference between his epic and that of Spenser. In spite of the conscious deliberate evocation of the Spenserian World in the latter part of 'The Dawn', there is no doubt that we are here in a fundamentally different world. The same process of objective realistic simplification is again the most noticeable feature of Doughty's treatment of our first parents in "Adam Cast Forth", which is indeed the simplest of Doughty's works. God is here, but even God is the Semitic all-powerful man-like grim Lord of the Old Testament. Angels abound and cherubims and spirits,

(1) 'Mansoul'(Page 3) : "Mongst Colin's crew .... amongst my herding spheres."
'Mansoul's Dream-City: "Edmund, my lodestar".

all of whom are common elements in the paraphernalia of Allegorical poetry. Still we are always conscious that Adam and Eve are ordinary human characters and have their feet solidly based on earth. In fact neither we nor they are allowed to forget it for a moment, because the hardships of the way when it is hard-going, and the joys of rest and salvation when water and shade are given are the main factors in the richness of the book. Through that clever device of the deliberate alternation of desert and oasis, of hunger, thirst and satisfaction, of suffering and then salvation, of heat or cold followed by the respite of gentle weather, Doughty manages to convey to us a sense of solidity. All his experiences in real life, of the hardships of desert life in Arabia, of the bleak rocky regions of Norway, Southern Italy and Sicily, all his geological studies of the rock-formations everywhere, alternate with the contented joy of his life in an oasis in the desert, on in Spring in Northern Italy, or in Summer in an English river-valley to make us feel and almost touch the real life of Adam and Eve in their fateful journey. With them we fare forward till the last page of the book. They always are the centre of all interest. They, and not any allegorical skeleton, give unity to that beautiful poem. In 'The Cliffs' the interest is focussed not on characters but on the land of Britain itself; hence the title. Yet the alternation is there, probably even more marked than in the case of "Adam Cast Forth". We either walk on the actual Cliffs of Britain with Hobbe and the rest, or mount the skies of Britain to where Sirion, Truth, the Muse of Britain and the Elves hold court. Although we ascend to the upper spheres of Gods and Spirits, where allegorical

elements abide, and descend to the practical world of men where realism is the order of the day, we are not given the Medieval and Renaissance skeleton of the allegorical frame which enclose the whole. In 'The Cliffs ~~Clouds~~', as we have noted before, we are nearer to the actual practical world of men than we are to the upper spheres. Although the actual climax seems to be reached in heaven and the problem there solved, yet the war itself, the danger of invasion and the release from it all happen on earth. In 'The Clouds' an attempt is made to bridge the obvious gap. As we have noted the poet begins in the upper sphere, where in 'The Muse's Garden' the Muse gives him the power of alternately changing his scene and vision from one place on earth to another, and the ability to move in time and space to record freely what he sees and hears, a liberty which Doughty had assumed in his earlier work, with no apparent need for either justification or explanation. This shows a change then, an implicit realization on the part of Doughty that his poems are in need of a formal frame. As ever he still cherishes his freedom to travel wherever he wants and whenever he decides. He would never surrender the liberty of movement for his imagination in time or space or action, for the sake of any strict form. Thus in 'The Titans' he discovers an old book, parts of which were well preserved, could be read and reproduced to us, while other parts, sullied by the passage of time, could not be reproduced. Whenever he wants to jump a distance or bridge a gap or not to dwell upon a given part, he pretends that the text of his ancient author there was not clear. Professor B. Fairley had noticed that and he takes it as an indication of the weakening

powers of the ageing poet. Yet the same prooccupation with details in one part, and the glossing-over, with no scruples whatever, of important points in another part, are one of the most noticeable features of all Doughty's works. You find it in the "Travels in Arabia Deserta" as well as in "The Dawn in Britain" and "Adam Cast Forth". All his works have an elastic, all-inclusive, sometimes freely contracting and sometimes freely expanding, form. In the early works the reader does not care because the richness of Doughty's art flowed in all directions. But later on, and particularly in "The Clouds", the material was not rich enough, except in patches, to hide the gaps and excuse the defects in the form. We realize that Doughty should have either brought his heaven down to earth, or lifted his earth above to the higher spheres, or provided, like the Medieval and Renaissance poets that he was partly following, an all-inclusive allegorical frame. We realize the difficulty of having elements of allegorical poetry in the Renaissance way, without building up the allegorical edifice upon which they hang. Doughty also seems to have realized the need. Unlike Professor Fairley, I take it, not as a weakening of Doughty's powers, although his powers were indeed now weaker, but more as an indication of Doughty's realization of his need for a form. "Mansoul" gives us a clearly conscious attempt towards the discovery of a frame, good enough to give the work its formal unity, and wide enough to preserve for the poet his coveted freedom unimpaired. "Mansoul" then is the most formal, and at the same time the most varied all-inclusive of Doughty's works.

"Mansoul" then is the nearest in form to, and the most direct

heir, among Doughty's works, of the late Medieval and Renaissance authors who were always near his heart. Although the title, as we said, reminds us of Bunyan, we should remember that Bunyan's "Mansoul" was the name of a city, while Doughty's "Mansoul" is the prototype of 'Man'. Thus he is nearer to Bunyan's 'Christian' in character, though Doughty's 'Mansoul' could hardly be called Christian. In a way he is nearer to the earlier ancestor of both, 'Everyman'. An abstraction he certainly is, and that indicates a change in Doughty and a concession to the nature of the allegorical form, but the change is not all the way and the concession is not complete. Look at the way in which Mansoul, the character in the book, is first introduced to us:

> "Of human souls such multitude He comprised,
> As clustered blebs, some greater and some less:
> We see in scudding floe, in day of storm,
> Of glistering spume; on some tempestuous strand,"

where the image is a practical down-to-earth visual image taken certainly from the various aspects of nature noted and recorded by the eye of a scientist in some of his travellers. Nothing is high-falutin' or abstract about it, nor about the similar and more poignant passage which brings to us for the first time Mansoul's voice:

> "I heard, hoarse murmuring tumult, as of Sea
> Deeps long-maned wave-rows, beating boisterous;
> And rushing billows, like to raging scour,
> Of raving wolves; wide-whelming on sea-cliffs...
> And creaking-winged mews' clamour, cloping loud,
> O'er long fore-shore:....."

which revives admirably the best sea-poetry of the Anglo-Saxon Race, and beats G.M. Hopkins at his own game.

Thus, even when he deals with certain abstractions, Doughty

puts it forward in such solid, concrete images as to rob it of its abstractions and bring it into the practical world of his geological and scientific researches. One feels at the beginning that the character of Mansoul, although it certainly is a personification of humanity at large, of its thoughts and endeavours through the ages to solve the riddle of the Universe, to discover the realities beyond the apparent, and to discover the limits of Man's ability to know, is at the same time the character of Doughty himself going through the stages of his own life, reliving the periods of his childhood, his youth, and his manhood, repeating the quest of knowledge in his long years step by step, putting it all, as it becomes one of the greatest of English travellers, in terms of a journey. One notices also that Mansoul's quest for knowledge in itself reflects the methods of Doughty himself and the regions of his own interests. Among the poets for example one does not meet Goethe or Byron or Shelley. Among the prophets one does not meet Mohammed, and among the philosophers Descartes, Spinoza or Kant are not to be found. More noticeable is the choice of science. For in the Nineteenth Century, even before Doughty's dissatisfaction with the present and his professed isolation started, there were more scientific branches than those of geography and geology. These were indeed on the fringe not in the heart of the scientific realm. But these are the branches that show in 'Mansoul'. Although it is true that Nineteenth Century geology was new, yet the science itself was as old as the Classical and the Medieval Ages. As early as the Fourteenth Century, the full cycle of Medieval knowledge was composed of the Liberal

Arts, of science moral and natural, of history, literature and philosophy as well as archæology and geography. Mansoul's world of knowledge does not differ in kind from the scientific conception of the later Medieval Ages. Pure sciences, the offspring of modern research workers, like Newton and Lavoisier and their successors have no place. Physics, Chemistry or Pure mathematics are not included. It is of course possible to say that these are the natural ends of the scientific processes even in their earliest periods, and that Doughty in bringing in the obvious human craving for knowledge, which is the root of it all, was consequently including all scientific research in Mansoul. But that is certainly not the case. For coupled with his hatred of all abstract thought, was his hatred for all purely scientific pursuits. In the second motto to 'Mansoul' Doughty copies St. Paul's words "Prove all things", which could be an expression of the necessity of practical scientific tests, but the second part of the quotation shows the trend of thought of both St. Paul and Doughty, "hold fast that which is good". Science was thus in Doughty's creed meant for the direct service of man, (1) and had its moral foundations, the old idea of science and not the modern Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries' which led to the modern mechanistic view of nature. Doughty again is nearer to the Middle Ages and early Renaissance than to his own age - nearer, but not exactly the same. For in those earlier ages, one would expect the character of Mansoul to monopolize the scene and action of the poem, and travel alone or aided by other subordinate helpers on the road. Here that is not the case. With

(1) See "The Titans: Subdued to the Service of Man".

'Mansoul' we have 'Minimus', who is another personification of another side of humanity at large, and of Doughty in particular. In a way 'Minimus' is the other side of the coin of humanity. The division is not that of the conventional dichotomy of soul and body, of the heavenly and the earthly, of the higher and the lower side, or the godly and the ungodly, or the angelic and the animal. It is between those who are high and mighty and those who are weak and unable. With Doughty's great belief in Man, and himself as a representative of the best in Man, went hand in hand a realization of the weakness inherent in Man. Not the evil side of man, but the sheer inability and the modest capacity. With Mansoul, the heir "of those giants, which wrested at the first; The Keys of Heaven, from the ancient Gods", (Page 218) which reminds us of Aeschylus' "Prometheus" and to a certain extent of Shelley's "Prometheus Unbound", there goes another weaker Man. 'Minimus' is met with, appropriately enough, in Arabia. There Doughty's aristocratic beginnings were forgotten. The Arabs did not know about them, and if they did England and its aristocracy were too far away from them to warrant any consideration. For the time being Doughty was forced to come down to the lowest levels. It is not only that he saw the lowest among the Arabs themselves, but he was himself forced to live on a par with the lowest ranks. Modesty does not always seem a characteristic of Khalīl in the 'Arabia', but looking at it retrospectively the traveller in Arabia which comes again into life on the pages of "Mansoul" seems to have become modest. It is possible that in the Wastes of Arabia, the spirit of man, any man, naked in front of the elements feels the certain weakness of

Man, and his helplessness vis-a-vis God and Nature. Mohammed felt it before, and Doughty shows it in Mansoul. Doughty found out the weakness of Man, in himself and in the Arabs themselves in the wastes of the Arabian Desert. There Man becomes aware of his weaknesses and the power of God:

"And therein, blackened in the Sun, a wight;
A certain Minimus walked, an anchorite;
As in high Presence of immortal Gods," (Page 5)

which is true of the Arab end of Doughty in Arabia. And again,

"In that sun-stricken inhuman wasteful ground;
.....
A son of Peace, he sought with tears, Life's Path.,"

which is certainly not true about the Arabs, nor true of the Khalīl of 'Arabia Deserta', yet true of Doughty looking back in retrospect to his Arabian experiences. Minimus is the modest part of Man and Doughty, an indication that the passage of years had their mellowing effect on the self-centred self-conscious young man of the early years.

But the two wings of humanity, and the two sides of Doughty must be brought together into a unity which, formal though it be, will keep to Man his character, and to the poem its protagonist. 'Mansoul' and 'Minimus' were different sides of one being. Although 'Mansoul' always does the questioning, and Minimus, true to his 'anchorite' modesty, does not utter one word throughout the poem, the relationship between them is not that of contrast or hatred. Neither are they the Angel and Devil duo, nor are they the Don Quixote and Sancho Panza type. They certainly need to be brought together, and it is indicative of the importance of poetry in Doughty's own world, and the importance

Doughty gives to the poet in the divisions of his 'republic', that they are brought together and made into one through the good offices of the 'poet', and the Muse of poetry:

> Methought I heard, whiles Minimus slumbers fast,
> The Muse's voice, saying, One my spirit henceforth
> Should be with his.

And later when the journey is begun:

> With Mansoul and with Minimus, have I passed.

Here then is Doughty's usual pattern, that in borrowing the personification of 'Mansoul' from earlier versions of the personifications of humanity like 'Prometheus', 'Everyman', or 'Christian', he has added a new side and a new version in 'Minimus' and then brought about the unity of both of them through that of the poet, in a curious Christian-like 'Trinity' of three-in-one, as if the Holy Ghost of poetry has worked in bringing together the 'Mansoul'-father with the 'Minimus'-son in One. You might say that the roots are in Langland, in the Morality plays, and in the allegories of the Renaissance but you cannot deny the new elements in 'Mansoul'.

With 'Mansoul' as its title, we have already said, it is possible to expect an allegorical poem. Yet these personifications are allegorical elements which Doughty proceeds to use in a frame which is not allegory. One wonders what Doughty would have done in an allegorical frame, for the 'Allegory' is one of the hardest and most formal moulds of literary expression. To the earlier Medieval and Renaissance generations it came naturally, but to a Nineteenth Century English poet it needed all the ingeniousness and dexterity of formal

expression that the poet could muster. And Doughty was nowhere a master of strict literary forms. The 'Allegory' would not have suited him even if he tried hard. In not attempting it in his search for a form Doughty was indeed true to his own nature, and we are fortunate. The 'form' into which he cast 'Mansoul' was another no less ancient and certainly more suitable frame than that of the Allegory. This is the form of a 'dream'. For dreams are universal. Men dreamt in the earliest centuries, and men still dream today. While the 'Allegory' is a certain frame of thought or expression into which the faculties of men must be groomed, dreams are one of the most natural phenomena. Children dream. Grown up men dream and old men dream. It is not like an 'allegory' topical and natural only to a certain period of cultural and literary history in Europe, but it is of all place and all time. Doughty would probably, certainly in my opinion, have failed in giving a successful allegory, but the dream was something even children could make plausible. Nor has the dream the strictness and the limitations of the 'Allegory', for you can dream of anything and any place or action, in substance or in spirit. The world of dreams is wider and freer than even the world of reality. The freedom of action, theme and method which Doughty was always careful to possess, was certainly at hand in a 'dream'. Still, with all this diffusion and profusion and formlessness, the 'dream' was an acknowledged form of literary expression. Doughty who was always aware of 'tradition' in his work could not fail to exploit that fact. For he could have easily given a 'Mansoul' in a typical Nineteenth Century dream, not necessarily

in the way of an "Alice in Wonderland", or "The Dream of Gerontius", but in a simple straightforward dream. Yet here are the first lines of 'Mansoul':

> As chanced I sate on terrace of an house,
> In summer season, after sickness past;
> And fell, surprised my sense, into deep trance:
> Wherein me seemed, much musing in my thought;
> I cogitations heard, of many hearts;
> That came and went, in MANTOWNS market-place,
> Whereon I looked.

And this is the conventional way of opening a poem in the later Middle Ages. The nearest poet which only the first two lines (and particularly the second), might recall is Milton, but 'chanced' and 'sate' and 'an house' suggest an even earlier period than that of Milton. And then follows 'summer season' and 'surprised' which assure that our remembrance of Milton was not meant to be static, for they also go beyond Milton to the age of Langland. When the reader arrives at "MANTOWNS market-place", the poet must have expected, he will certainly link it with the works of Bunyan. So the side-stepping of Milton in these earlier lines is a warning to the reader that this might include Milton and Bunyan, but that it certainly springs from a strain earlier than both, and more inclusive. Indeed it reminds us in particular of Langland, and beyond him of Caedmon and Dante. 'Mansoul' is thus at the very beginning linked with the medieval poetical form of a 'dream'. But this is only one side of the process, for the 'dream' in Langland, Caedmon and Dante is much more than a simple literary form. It is not merely a 'convention', a way of expressing an idea which could be easily disentangled and exposed in other literary forms. It has a more genuine, more germane pedigree.

Its fountainhead is there in the pages of the Bible, as early as the book of Genesis. Dante and Caedmon and Langland, and in due course Bunyan and Milton and Doughty are the inheritors of a rich strain. In Genesis God speaks through dreams. In 'Judges', in 'Kings' and in 'Daniel' His will and the future events of man are known in dreams. Joseph interprets as well as dreaming himself. Daniel's dreams come in "a vision of the night". Job sees the terrible dreams as terrors sent by God. But the higher prophets beheld their visions while awake either by day or at night. In the 'New Testament' we have other visions and dreams, the greatest of which and the most complete is St. John's 'Revelations'. In these and later ages, dreams and visions were not explained away physiologically or psychologically, as they are in our modern scientific world, but they were understood as messages from higher powers, and were explained symbolically. Dream-images were taken to stand for actual realities. God spoke to man that way, and poets like prophets were there to convey His message to other men. Doughty's choice of the 'dream' as his form cannot be separated from his belief in the Medieval and Renaissance doctrine of the inspired poet. In 'The Dawn in Britain' pagan bards are inspired by pagan gods, and Cuan, the Christian bard is inspired by the Christian God. In the Prophetic Books, the poet, Doughty himself indeed, is inspired by the Goddess of Poetry, and drinks from the fountains of the 'Garden of the Muse'. In 'Mansoul' the doctrine is part of the whole conception of the poem, and part of Doughty's message. Indeed, because he was chosen by the Muse, Doughty felt the duty of delivering his message. ~~Before~~ ~~then~~ ~~he delivered his message.~~

The 'Doctrine of the Inspired Poet' was dead in the later Seventeenth Century and throughout the Eighteenth Century, but with the Romantics there was a marked change. When the Romantics revived the notion of poetry as inspiration, they could not go all the way and their audience did not take it as an act of belief. There was a feeling that poetry had something divine about it, but neither the self-assertions of Wordsworth, nor the drug-inspired hallucinations of Coleridge, nor the avowed atheism of Shelley, nor the rebellious outrageousness of Byron's behaviour, would help it revive in its entirety the Medieval and Renaissance doctrine of the inspired poet. Nor was the Victorian Era any more different in that, from the earlier years of the century, for neither in its minor poets nor its major poets could the doctrine happily be reconciled. The only poet in whose case there could probably be a shade of doubt is the most famous of them all, Alfred Lord Tennyson. For in him, or at any rate in the later version of him, there was at least a veneer of propheoy. Yet one cannot brush aside lightly the objections that it was only a veneer, an assumption on the part of the poet that this was part of the heritage to which he has come, as poet, and the recognition of Society in a formal way, that <u>some</u> place must be found for the 'Poet' in the framework of society. But it is hard to look at this, either on the part of the poet, or the part of society as a revival of the belief in the doctrine of the Inspired Poet as the Middle Ages and the Renaissance knew it. Even that phoney resemblance in the Tennysonian world was to be denied completely in the Twentieth Century. Thus we are indeed justified if we linger a while on Doughty's

apparently sincere belief in the doctrine of the inspired poet.

Indeed from the earliest steges of his life he does not seem to have wavered or hesitated. From the days when he was a Cambridge undergraduate, poetry became his all-consuming fire. Even 'Arabia Deserta' was, as we have made clear, part of his poetical endeavours. He became as he says "wedded to the Muse." It is true that the Muse, there, was as much the 'Muse of Britain' as the 'Muse of Poetry', and that Patriotism was the altar in front of which the poet's work was to be offered. But there is no contradiction or contrast between the poet's belief in Poetry and the patriot's belief in his Fatherland. Thus "The Dawn in Britain" was as much an act of faith in the Muse as it was an act of dedication to the cause of Britain. "Adam Cast Forth" was poetry pure and undiluted, not an argument for the necessity of dedication, but the offering itself offered in a state of perfect happiness and satisfaction. Yet as soon as Doughty was confronted with a cause and an argument, as soon as the necessity became apparent, to teach a public directly and to preach to it in an urgent and an important cause, he had to base his claim of the right to speak, on a solid basis, and make clear what he believed to be the divine responsibility of the poet. In "The Cliffs" and "The Clouds", there is nothing directly personal wherewith Doughty's great concern and his sense of dedication could be measured. But in them there is the first clear notion of the vocation and the unique position in Men's society of the "Poet" as Doughty saw them. The Poet indeed is Doughty. There is no doubt whatever that he locked always upon himself as the 'Poet', and that he

never for a minute was in doubt of himself or his abilities or his right to speak up as the chosen of the Muse. Indeed the question does not seem to have arisen at all. And this natural selection which might seem to us impertinent in this world of self-searching hesitant doubting souls was most natural in the world of Livingstone, of Gordon and Cecil Rhodes.

In "The Cliffs" he spoke up to warn his people and foretell in the same way in which the older Celtic poets would chant before the battle. But the critics attacked it, and the people did not seem to heed. So "The Clouds" cites the earlier examples of Greek and Spartan poets doing what Doughty was about to do for his own Country, and then moves, for the first time, into the 'Muses' Garden' where the contact between the divine sources of inspiration and the chosen 'inspired' poet actually occurs, and the divine powers are bestowed on him. The later parts of "The Clouds", as we have shown, were practical results of these endowments. The roving eye, the ability to travel at will both in time and place, and the power to put all of it in 'immortal measures' are there. Although "The Clouds" is no apologia or argument for the truth of divine poetic inspiration, it is nevertheless based on the assumption of it. Nor was it new to Doughty, although Doughty seems to have become aware of the necessity of recording it because he was apparently the only person to believe in it. When "Mansoul", his last message was written, this 'strange' belief in the doctrine of the inspired poet was bound to come in, because it is indeed fundamental in the world of Doughty's poetry and our understanding of it. It is indeed

at the root of all his poetry.

It is the basis, for example, of the 'Post Illa', written at the end of his great epic, as long ago as 1906. There Homer is the 'human-divine' voice, and Chaucer was the first to kindle a fire 'at the hearth of the divine Muses', and Spenser, 'the darling of the divine Muses', perceived 'devoutly ... the harmony of the Spheres'. There again in the Glossary he explains the word 'Vates' as 'Latin: author of vaticination, prophet, poet' and links it with the Irish word 'Faith'. Now 'Vates' is the word he uses for the poet, himself, in "The Clouds". Everywhere then, explicitly or implicitly, his belief in the divinity of poetic inspiration is unshaken. Nor is it right to take it allegorically or symbolically, for the fact will still remain even if it is stripped of the characters of the 'Muses', or the drinking of their 'divine vials and potions', or the kissing of their hands. Doughty was an ardent believer in the doctrine of the divinely inspired poet, a belief quite distinct from the quasi-social belief of Lord Tennyson or the meditative self-centred belief of William Wordsworth. This was an older, much older, tradition that sprang as we said from the Hebraic as much as from the Classical world, and was at the root of most of the Medieval and Renaissance poetry, and lingered in the minds of poets as late as Milton.

We have already referred to Homer, whose physical blindness made stronger the belief in his 'visionary' powers. 'Virgil' was not blind, but all the Christian Medieval and Renaissance world looked at him as a visionary and a prophet who saw the coming of 'Christ' in those

dark days. Thus the classical heritage, with all the paraphernalia of the Muses, and Graces and the libations was made easier to absorb; and the doctrine was confirmed and substantiated by the various and abundant examples of divine inspiration in the Holy Book. When Skelton in 'Replications' says that 'God maketh his habytacion in Poetes .. And soiourns with them and dwells' and when Francis Bacon says that poetry 'was ever thought to have some participation in divineness', they were referring as much to the world of their day as to the world of Greece and Rome and Jerusalem. The belief in the participation of divine supernatural powers in the human creative process of writing poetry was then universal.

The only difference was in the nature of these supernatural powers and not in their participation. In Greece and Rome there were the Nine Muses. In the Old Testament there was Jehovah. Yet only once did Jehovah speak direct to Man on Earth. True he used to speak to him in Eden, and Doughty does not hesitate to use that in "Adam Cast Forth". On earth, Moses was the only fortunate Prophet. That direct inspiration was not repeated. Another kind of inspiration was the mystical experience of saints where the power of the Lord would suddenly inhabit and transform the chosen human form. That mystical immanence was reserved for mystics and saints, and 'Pentecost' is the outstanding example in the 'New Testament'. But the third method of heavenly inspiration was through unseen powers 'sent' by God. To the prophets they carry God's messeges and to the poets they convey God's inspiration. Angels, Spirits and demons become in that the messengers

of God to the prophets and the poets. When the classical tradition of the Muses was brought in connection, it was easy to look at the Muses in the same light as they looked at these angels and spirits. There was no clash or contradiction. The Hebraic intermediary 'Malach' was easily replaced by the Muse of Poetry, and the ideal figure of the man of God, the prophet or 'Nabi'(1) the God-sent, was easy to reconcile with the poet, and the best example for the fusion of the two was in the person of David, prophet and divine-poet, of the Old Testament, whose Psalms were a source of inspiration to all poets from the earliest period to Milton and Doughty.

One of Doughty's favourite authors was Sir Philip Sydney, who in his 'Apologie' praises highly the poets of the Old Testament. Sir Philip Sydney and his sister, the Countess of Pembroke, have attempted a metrical translation of the Psalms of David, and John Donne wrote thus about it:

> "The songs are these, which Heavens highly Muse
> Whispered to David, David to the Jews."

Thus the classical Muse of Poetry is easily brought in as the bearer of inspiration from heaven to the poet-prophet. Nor was this unique, for poets like Lydgate, Lindsay and Skelton, and all were favourites of Doughty, profess the guiding hand of the Divinity in the writing of their poetry, and Drayton, whose influence on Doughty needs a particular study, brings in the mythological convention of the Nine Muses as the inspirers of his poetry. But the greatest of all these need not be left out simply because his name pops up everywhere in Doughty, for Spenser's way is Doughty's way, in the belief in the doctrine of the

(1) In Doughty's 'Mansoul' the name is 'Nebo' (Page 53 / 1923).

inspired poet, and in the fusion of the classical mythological convention of the Nine Muses with the religious Jewish-Christian belief of the divine nature of prophetic poetry. Doughty, like Varro and Isidore of Seville, uses the term 'vates' for 'poets', the term which was equally applied to priests and prophets.

Indeed the 'collective' convention opens new vistas of poetic expression wider in fact than one would think possible at a glance. For the divine inspiration, strong in its religious conviction, and well-founded on the examples of Jewish prophets and Christian saints, gives the poet a sense of seriousness, of a definite mission, and a certain responsibility towards Mankind. Doughty's 'poet' in "The Clouds" and in "Mansoul" always feels 'impelled' towards the execution of his duty. A dream here is not the idle dream of a Nineteenth Century poet in secluded meditation of an individual nature, but more in the nature of a 'vision' and a 'message' given to all humanity. The poet's voice is thus amplified. It is never thin or low. It is the 'voice' of Miltonic characters like 'Mansoul', or Miltonic Goddesses like 'Hertha'. In Milton's "Urania" E. E. Kellet (Reconsiderations) sees the influence of a Talmudic tradition, which seems to me no less significant in the case of Doughty and 'Hertha'. Doughty as we have already proved was a great reader of Rabbinical traditions, and his usage of the divine 'voice' in "Adam Cast Forth", in "The Clouds" and everywhere in Mansoul, would not make it far-fetched for us to bring in the Talmudic tradition of the 'Bat Kol'. This meant literelly 'the Daughter of the Voice', which meant the 'Echo of the Voice of God', and with the 'Holy Ghost' was taken as the means

for conveying God's thoughts. The Voice of 'Hertha' and the Voice of the 'Muse' in "Mansoul" recalls it clearly to the mind. Echoes and reverberations of the 'Voice' are thus amplified more and more.

Another direct result of this doctrine, or perhaps a corollary to it, is the strange mixture of strength and weakness. For if inspiration gives him strength, depending as it does on the solid foundation of the Heavenly voice, and gives him a sense of his own importance, being as it were the 'chosen' of God, it also makes clear his feeling of his own unimportance and his own weakness and his need to depend upon the supernatural external powers.

This feeling of the weakness of man, physically and morally, and his limitations, is outspoken everywhere in Medieval and early Renaissance literature. In "Mansoul" Doughty inherited it and thought fit to personify it in "Minimus". But in a way "Minimus" is central in "Mansoul", indeed the most important part of the character of "Mansoul" is "Minimus", for it is the realization of Man's weaknesses, and his inability to solve "The Riddle of the Universe", which makes him query and search for knowledge. It is that weakness which prompts him to enquire and reach for the heights. Humility becomes his door to greatness. Caedmon, says Bede, was chosen because of his humility to receive the divine grace which enabled him to write his poetry. And this realization of human weakness and human dependance on the divine, had another side-effect which was also apparent everywhere in Medieval and early Renaissance literature - the utter contempt for life on earth. (1) And Doughty's pages,

(1) See "Willard Farnham: The Medieval Heritage of Elizabethan Tragedy".

and "Mansoul" in particular, are full of this, of the admission of the body's weakness, and the vileness of the lower world, and the continuous urge for better 'understanding'. Thus the quest for knowledge becomes an attempt to better oneself morally, mentally and physically. And here the classical convention of the Nine Muses shows its unlimited usefulness. For this was not simply an affectation, a pedantic showing-off of the poet's knowledge of classical mythology or simply a way of linking his name and work with the grandeur of Greece and Rome. It was much more than that. This was throughout the Medieval Age and the Renaissance partly a Rhetorical convention. It was moreover a symbolical tradition, but it was above all a constant reminder of the various co-related aspects of learning/the fine arts, and ~~with~~ of knowledge in its widest sense. Not only Poetry, but History also, and Philosophy, and added to all is Doughty's science and geology through 'Hertha'.

Thus the fusion of the classical mythological convention with the Jewish-Christian 'vision' widens the poet's scope to include practically all the spheres of human knowledge. Instead of the clash between pagan mythology and Christian conventions, we have the width and the depth of the former enclosed and ennobled in the wide frame of the latter. "Mansoul" is a 'vision' but includes religion, morality, philosophical arguments, mythical narrative, dramatic scenes and even autobiographical data. In "Mansoul" everything is seen in the 'vision'. "Mansoul" in a vision goes in quest of knowledge.

In a letter to Sir Sydney C. Cockerell on the 25th of December, 1923, Doughty wrote, "At eighty one looks upon even that age as too small a span to be fully grown up in, to knowledge, in human life". But knowledge there should have been written in capital letters, for he does not mean the knowledge that was necessary for the writing of "Arabia Deserta" or "Adam Cast Forth" or "The Prophetic Books", or for that matter the great achievement of "The Dawn in Britain". Knowledge needed for the writing of any of those great works was not beyond the abilities of an industrious conscious scholar-poet. A knowledge of geography, archeology, the current theories of Orientalism, a thorough knowledge of the Bible, a little knowledge of Arabic and a smaller knowledge of medicine was enough to launch him on his great Arabian adventure. An equally important feeling of self-confidence and self-righteousness were enough to launch him on the writing of it. "Adam Cast Forth" was, as Hogarth puts it, part of the Arabian aftermath. "The Dawn in Britain" occupied more of his faculties than the "Arabia" and needed a thorough knowledge of the history of Europe in general, of Rome, Gaul and Britain in particular, and as a necessary background it needed a grasp and a personal theory of 'History'. The "Prophetic Books" had all that, and some knowledge of the contemporary scene as their raw-material. But "Mansoul" needed more.

It is not only that Doughty was at last free from all feelings of urgent responsibilities towards his country, race and language, and was ready to think of humanity at large. It is also the direct inescapable result of all the fragmentary excursions into those earlier exploits.

In Arabia, whenever KhalÎl was alone in the wilderness under the great bent of heaven, he would feel the greatness of the unknown, and the insignificance of Man, but that feeling in "Arabia Deserta" is fragmentary and the expression of it is of a secondary interest. In "Adam Cast Forth", God and the Angels, Fate, and Sammael are there and they play a great part, but they are indeed part of a whole, factors in an action the centre of which is the story of 'Adam and Eve'. In "The Dawn in Britain", Gods and Goddesses are never far away but they are auxiliary elements in an epic of human heroes, and a pageant of historical events. In "The Cliffs" even the German Officers have time to ruminate on the stupendousness of the 'night' and the 'sky' around them, and the insignificance of man, but they quickly go back to the hustle and bustle of human events and completely forget the unanswered queries about the unknown. In "The Titans" the story goes further back into a semi-living past, earlier than the story of man, and Gods and giants join in war, yet all that is part of the current of the human story. Only in "Mansoul" are all these earlier fragmentary scenes amplified and strengthened until they become the poem itself. 'Knowledge' in "Mansoul" becomes knowledge with a capital 'K'. Within the chosen frame of the vision-dream all human knowledge is tackled.

We have already discussed the frame and linked it with the older Medieval and early Renaissance visions and dreams. And indeed the frame is indicative of the contents. The form in the Medieval and Renaissance period was more than an allegorical device; indeed it always dealt with the sum of human existence and human knowledge vis-a-vis

the Supernatural powers, or, in Doughty's favourite phrase, 'The Riddle of the World'. Two levels were always apparent, the lower level of Nature, and the higher level of Grace, and the relationship between the order of grace and the order of nature was a favourite occupation of the early Renaissance writers. And because the Medieval and Renaissance period were beyond doubt religious in temperament it was natural to expect 'Microchristus' to dominate always the lower 'Microcosmus'.

Doughty's "Mansoul" belongs to the same world. Looking at the huge stature of "Mansoul", made up of 'manifold souls' one might be led to suppose that Doughty, unlike the Medieval and Renaissance writers, is putting his 'man' on top. But that would certainly be a great mistake. It is true that in isolating the weaknesses in Man into the one solid character of 'Minimus', and in allowing the poet - that is himself - to be made 'one' with Minimus rather than with Mansoul, Doughty appears to 'ennoble' Mansoul and purge him of the baser human elements, and give him a rather higher rank than he would have had in a Medieval Morality play, or a Renaissance Pageant. It is indeed true that the character of 'Mansoul' is meant to represent the best in Man, but that hardly raises him beyond the sphere of nature, to that of the Supernatural. If it did, there would have been no necessity for the quest, and no need for the poem itself. No; 'Mansoul' is nobler than 'Everyman' or 'Christian', and that is why his weaknesses are not exposed in the poem as theirs were. And even when the evil side of man is shown in some rare event, like the stoning and the martyrdom of Stephen, the

wickedness is hardly stressed, and the evil is not at all dramatically or emotionally exploited. 'Mansoul' in his quest for knowledge shows both his nobility and his imperfection. If he were perfect then he would have known all the answers. And if he were all evil, he would never have cared to search for knowledge. Evil, as we said, does not loom large in "Mansoul". What Doughty did was to draw the lines clearly between the modest weaker feelings in Man, dwarfed by the greatness and hugeness of supernatural powers, and the higher nobler thirst for knowledge and higher ideals.

The first became 'Minimus' and was characteristically drawn from Arabia, where Man's littleness is made clear in the huge desert, and where Doughty himself, the heir to noble aristocratic traditions and the self-assertive haughty Squire son was shown his weaknesses and treated as a humbler man. The second became 'Manscul' who is the consciousness and crystallization of Man's noblest elements. It is logical that all through the poem Mansoul and not Minimus should do the asking.

Another main difference between the Medieval-Renaissance visions and "Mansoul" is the difference in religious outlook. At the outset, let me make clear that I do not agree with the opinion that considers "Mansoul" an a-religious poem and Doughty as an agnostic or a sceptic. Nothing is further than that from truth. We have already discussed his religious views and come to the conclusion that although he was not an adherent of any formal Christian denomination he was not an atheist, but a Unitarian. Though the stress in him lies on the human level, it

does not exclude completely the supernatural element. Querying might mean an element of doubt, but doubt itself is of different kinds. There is the feigned doubt which is only a device for stressing belief. There is also the doubt that is basic and indeed a concomitant of the act of belief. And there is doubt that leads to the destruction of belief and the establishment instead of disbelief. Doughty's doubt in "Mansoul" does not lead to disbelief. Nor does it lead to a complete and all-consuming fervent belief. Doubt does not go to the depths of the man and stir him to heights of emotion and depths of degradation. When Mansoul and Minimus start their quest we are not sure of their great need for it or the necessity of it. Nor do we, at the end, feel the complete emotional satisfaction of finding a solution. There is indeed hardly any emotional sense of 'belonging' to one given cause, of 'commitment' to one idea, of exaltation and joy or deprivation and despair. It is all level-headed and sober. All is serious, solemn and forbidding, but it never stirs the heart and the soul and the mind as its Medieval-Renaissance predecessors did. But if there are no excursions into the field of emotion there are, on the other hand, no thrusts into the uncomfortable regions of theory, argument and apologetics.

We have already discussed Doughty's natural aversion to theoretical exercises even in the field of language, but "Mansoul" by the nature of its quest of knowledge lends itself to theorizing, and so his aversion to theories is nowhere more apparent than in "Mansoul". One does not have here a Bunyanesque allegory. Nor do we have a Newmanesque dream. Doughty writes objectively, with a careful attention

to details, and a clever accumulation of external features. Because it is neither emotional, nor theoretical, the inner features of Mansoul are also different. In a theoretical discussion one would expect a logical chain of reasoning which does not exist in "Mansoul". If it were an artistic rendering of the theory one would expect the normal processes of personifications or symbols. 'Everyman' meets 'Good Deeds', and 'Christian' meets Mr. 'Worldly Wiseman' but Mansoul meets people who are (or were) flesh and blood, not abstractions but men. Thus the poem as we have noticed is neither pure theory nor pure emotion. Doughty's method cuts through directly to the poetical statement of a question, and searches through periods of human greatness to find an answer for it. It is, as Professor Fairley calls it, "A survey of human wisdom".

It is not a progressive sequence of cause and effect, but a series of lantern-slides of various scenes and various great human characters of the past. The questioner is always 'Mansoul', not the poet nor Minimus, and the questions are always the same. And as one has come to expect in Doughty, the answers are also always alike. Thus the effect is gained not by a progressive development of logical reasoning, but by the accumulated effect of similar experiences and similar message - As if the facts which Doughty and Mansoul know at the beginning of the quest found proofs in the corroboration of all the sages of humanity. Thus the onus of proof rests not on argument but on example, not on metaphysical speculation and logical thinking but on pragmatic experiences of the best human beings of all ages, meticulously collected and effectively

arranged. And because the main quest is for what these sages 'know' through their own experiences, 'Knowledge' becomes knowledge not of abstractions, of the soul, of God and of theology. It becomes knowledge of man and his limitations, of the influences on him and on his behaviour. This is no mental intellectual exercise, or uncharted flights of the imagination. This is a controlled restrained search for the limits of human control. His first question is:

> What were indeed right paths of man's feet,
> That lacking light wont stumble in Worlds murk.

The second question, says Professor Fairley, is the more important "Riddle of the Universe". Professor Fairley notices that Doughty started with the first question on the moral problem, but did not press it on. "It can never have been a source of perplexity to him and it quickly disappears from the poem or is absorbed in the more objective enquiry into the 'Riddle of the Universe'," says Fairley. But the division and the distinction seems to be in Professor Fairley's mind, and not in Doughty's. That is why that last phrase on the absorption of the first question is truer than the Professor expected. They were not two questions but one indivisible problem. Call it an enquiry into the relationship of God to Men, and it becomes a matter of the extent to which Man's knowledge could go. Call it the 'right paths of Man's feet' and it becomes the extent to which Man's freedom to act could go. Both start attitudes from Man as their point of departure, and both, shunning all theories and abstractions and metaphysical flights find practical pragmatic answers. If you look, as Professor Fairley seems to have done, at one question as a metaphysical quest and on the

other as a moral quest, then you are in for a disappointment, for which you would wrongly condemn Doughty. Professor Fairley says that the first question "quickly disappears from the poem". It does not. It has been with Doughty so long, in the 'Arabia', in 'The Dawn' and in 'The Prophetic Books'. In 'Mansoul' it is given repeatedly. In the same lines in which his first question occurs you have it conditionally expressed, "lacking light". Without God's light, Man stumbles and falls. On Page 4 you read:

"Wared soon then the World dark:
Save that the Hand, which framed all things, ..."

and the Hand is that of God the creator. On Page 5, still before the quest, on the earliest introduction of Minimus, we hear of him as:

"A son of Peace, he sought with tears, Life's Path"

which is Fairley's first question, and then:

"His soul might hear, still, small, Celestial Voice"

which is the second question, and it is again referred to on the same page as "heavenly vision". This clearly is no division into two different questions, but two aspects of one quest, one problem, that of the limits of man's knowledge. Mansoul in turn comes on (Page 7) and he "impleaded heaven!". Pages 8 and 9 explain how the Goddess Hertha created life and gave Man "mind and speech", which answers the second question, and partly tackles the first in, "mind and speech to his soul's health". Still Mansoul wants to go Underground "to enquire wisdom of worlds ages past". (Page 10). On Page 21 again the Muse brings the two questions of Professor Fairley's together in one line as they should be:

"Touching hid knowledge and more perfect paths?".

And when the quest itself begins in Book II, the idea is not to discover new frontiers as much as to find corroborating data. God exists and the creation of the world is his, and some of the unknown mysteries are His own domain. Man was given a mind to try and follow the right paths in his own limited field of action and knowledge. That is established before the quest, and will be verified by all the sages. More important and more significant are the practical 'specimens' of knowledge shown en route by Doughty. This is always the best part of Doughty's works. If Mansoul had no questions at all to ask and answers to get, we would not have been to the 'Muses Garden', and the dream, the vision, the description and the verse with the echoes from his poetical studies and his geological researches, and his own personal experiences, would have been lost to us. As poetry they are a joy to read, and as knowledge they are Doughty's usual practical answer to the questions. The vision is the work of his poetic imagination and is at the same time visually as solid as science.

In Book II, Mansoul starts his journey, and the first part of it carries him through Hell, and in this part the lessons gained by 'Mansoul' are necessarily moral lessons, more on 'behaviour' than on the side of positive knowledge. What we learn is indeed the things we are <u>not</u> to do, the steps that lead us astray in life. In a way this has its positive side; by way of elimination defining the field of 'Man's right path'. Classical excursions into Tartarus, Dante's sojourn in Hell, and even Milton's fallen angels are in the background. The

passage itself is classical, the porter and gate are Dantesque, and this is Miltonic:

"Standing them amidst,
Be mighty Aeons, pride-fallen from sterry Height;
Before the birth of Time, or this World Was."

But all are in Doughty's best adamantine style. First comes 'the abode, of lunatic spirits', and their 'sad fond troubled looks!'

Then comes 'Sinners' Wailing-place':

Where spirits rest not, after their flashes' deaths;
But wallow and wind, in torment of their minds;
Shut out from bliss.

And we are given the first stumbling-stone of men in their life:

"Self-love, their only God,
Hath them undone."

And these are called, 'demon-gotten monsters of mankind'. Then follow 'evil-doers', as if in Doughty's moral scales 'self-love' is a more horrible sin than doing evil. Among those was the German Kaiser, who was cursed even by his fellow-prisoners in Hell!

An earthquake in Hell follows where Doughty's experiences of the eruption of Etna seem to be made use of, and from which they were quickly rescued by 'Great Hertha's Voice', and there starts the brighter regions of the Underworld. Thus as doubt was noticeably scarce before the beginning of the journey, and evil was not deeply felt, so 'Hell' does not occupy Doughty's attention much. His quest is knowledge, and Hell would yield little positive knowledge. His main object is to meet the best of human beings of the past and ask them, and not the worst. Thus he travels quickly into Paradise where the opposite side to Hell is shown. Here are those who were "wedded .... in World, to

righteous life!", and among them is a passage rare indeed in Doughty:

> ..... a little aloof;
> We a soul viewed, that conflicted with himself:
> Which finally he, subdued; trode underfoot;
> Whom then received the rest to fellowship.

How much would we have given to have an extended exposition in Doughty of that inward commotion, that inner struggle of a 'soul in conflict with itself'? But we search in vain. Doughty must have known the inner conflict, for who has not? In 'Arabia Deserta' he refers to "The contemplative life's pilgrimage". In 'Mansoul' later he speaks of "long nightmare of doubt; which hitherto holds suspent mens' hearts."

In 'The Titans' we hear of

> "Attractions and repulsions, not unlike,
> To perturbations, in Man's jelly-flesh."

But these are rare cases and unsatisfactory references, which Doughty never expands or comments upon. The fact which is important to him is that this soul has earned its place in the fellowship in Paradise, because it was able to control and subdue itself, the opposite of those first class citizens of Hell, who indulged in 'self-love'. Other inhabitants of Paradise are the Heroes who defended their country and race, the warriors who lost their lives to help their State and people live, the honourable citizens who served their country in civilian life, and at last the 'Seers' and poets and prophets. The summing-up is given in Herbde Voice:

> The pathways of the Just, in all the Earth;
> Shall meet together in One Holy Place:
> Under the Silent Brow of Heaven supreme.

which introduces one of the most important elements in Doughty's philosophy.

One could have suspected it in the choice of the character of 'Mansoul', but 'Everyman' in the famous Morality play was no less characteristic of <u>all</u> men. But all men in the case of 'Everyman' are considered within the frame-work of Christianity. In as much as Christianity was looked upon as <u>The Only Religion</u> of all men, Everyman meant all men. But 'Mansoul' is radically different in that it encloses all humanity as it is. The ancestry of Everyman is like the ancestry of Jesus in St. Luke, in that it goes back in one line through Hebraic veins to Adam and Eve. But 'Mansoul' is made up of 'souls manifold' from every country and every race. All the best and noble souls of men, Christian or otherwise, are included and that is a major departure in the ways of Doughty from the ways of Medieval-Renaissance moralities and visions.

> In every Age and Family of Man's Kin
> Rise steadfast spirits, nourished of lofty thought:
> That seekers be, with singleness of heart,
> Of Righteousness; and amongst their fellows, teach
> The Blameless Life.

And those exactly are the people whom Mansoul and Minimus and the poet go to meet, men who had striven hard, driven by Conscience to lofty ideals in their lives, and civilizations which attained different degrees of excellence, in the history of Man on Earth. Thus the enlarged humanitarianism of 'Mansoul' extends far and wide, further by far than the limits of Medieval and Renaissance Christian Visions, to include the best that was and is in all humanity.

As it is always the case with Doughty, everything is given in terms of a journey beginning when life itself began, and ending in visions of the future. Here it begins in Mesopotamia, traditionally thought to be the Garden of Eden on Earth. There Man was groomed by God and the angels into a settled, well-ordered and civilized life. Given 'Mind and Speech', he quickly learnt to till the ground and grow his food. This we were given in 'Adam Cast Forth', but Doughty is never tired of repeating his themes, and 'Mansoul' is his all-inclusive treasure-house. In 'The Titans' he exploited the newly-discovered human art of agriculture. The 'Garden' theme is exploited in the 'Muses Garden' of the Prophetic Books. And here in 'Mansoul' these threads are taken again in hand. Yet with all his repetitions, which are sometimes boring, Doughty's exploitation is never the same. Here in 'Mansoul' the garden and agriculture in Mesopotamia are mentioned as the earliest manifestations of Man's civilization to go on from there to the wisdom of these early steges of human life. One would expect Doughty to choose Hammurabi, the first law-giver known in the history of Man, to be his chosen sage of Babylon. But the idea of prophecy-cum-law-giving rather than law-giving by itself, seems to have been predominant in his mind. So Doughty coins a proper name for an imaginary 'Seer' from the semitic word 'Naba'. Besides law-giving_"... instituted righteous laws",_he was "Rock of his people, prophet, priest and king", but his main gift was that of prophecy. In Arabic the word 'Nabi' means 'prophet', a man who 'sees' the future and prophesies, in contradistinction to the word 'Rassoul-Allah', the 'Messenger of God', who is both prophet <u>and</u> transmitter of a heavenly

message. Daniel, for example, is only a 'Nabi', while Moses is a 'Nabi' and a 'Rasoul' (Messenger). But in Babylon Doughty had no historic names to show this; so he personified the idea into the character of 'Nebo' - 'Nabu' among the Assyrians was the planet Mercury. Mansoul questions Nebo, and his questions are everywhere vague and general, 'Concerning wisdom and eternal Light;' and Nebo's answers are no less vague and colourless. About God, Nebo says,

"Is not His Eye all-seeing overall?"

and about Man's duty to Him, he says, Man must "contend to please Him". About Man's duty to his fellow-men he says, in an equally vague all-pleasing generalization, "treat men as you would like to be treated". But all this was equally conceived by practically all religions, and Doughty had no need to take us back in time and space to that early age to tell us simply these generally accepted facts. But this is the wrong way to treat Doughty's poetry. For the most important thing in the execution, and not the product, the journey itself and not the lesson. We should perhaps not expect anything new, nor do we indeed find any startling ideas in 'Mansoul'. As we said before, the journey is meant to amplify and corroborate and emphasize what we already know.

One particular aside which moves towards making the colourless Nebo a particular individual, and which, because it is repeated in other places, is indeed Doughty's own feeling, is Nebo's preference for life on Earth in penury and destitution, to Death and a princely rank in the Kingdom of Death. The same note is struck later on, when Minimus, leaving the dark regions, finds the whole world ravaged by War, and yet

is glad and contented to see the light of dry.

The following stop in Mansoul's journey through time and space is Ancient Persia, the traditional home of mysticism. Doughty was no mystic, and he does not show any interest in the cult. If he had, he would have mentioned it, for he never leaves the reader in doubt. What he had in mind was Persia's links with the history of the Hebrews and the Old Testament. Thence, the Persian sage is addressed as "Light of Elam". Again he was aware of writing for a Christian public; and the idea of Persia as the traditional home of the Magi in the story of Christ's Nativity, is shown in his address of the Persian sage as the 'Mage'. The sage, who arbitrarily stands for all the wisdom of ancient Persia as much as 'Nebo' stood for the wisdom of Mesopotamia , is 'Zoroaster'. But 'Zoroaster', unlike Nebo, was very much a living character in that ancient age, and was no less alive, at least as a name in Nineteenth Century Europe. Nietzsche chose Zarathustra as his spokesman and the prophet of the 'Superman' in his famous book. Doughty deliberately uses both versions of the sage's name. Yet the only fact peculiar to 'Zoroastrianism' which we find in Mansoul's encounter with the Persian sage is the oblique reference to his dual power of Good and Evil, Ahriman and Ahōra Mazda, in the line, "The Light and Dark be set before your living steps". But the 'light' and the 'dark' are not necessarily two powerful Gods, unmustered by any higher Power. They could be and indeed are metaphorically used by all religions. Doughty thus suppresses the fundamental dual nature of the Zoroastrian Gods into a vague discussion of Good and Evil, and thus brings Zoroastrianism in

line with all the Unitarian creeds of Jewry, Christianity or Islam. Zoroaster here is not the sage of Persia as we know about him, but a vague Doughtyesque mouthpiece reiterating the lessons Doughty wants to teach. In Ancient polytheistic Babylon 'Nebo' speaks like a moderate European moralist, and in ancient Persia, Zoroaster repeats the same ideas. When Mansoul asks his general questions, the answers are no less general: Question: "Who created all?" Answer: "Of nothing nothing can derive ..... God 'All, Was, Is' created All". And that indeed is <u>not</u> Zoroastrianism as the Persians knew it or as we know it. When asked about Man's petty affairs and the interest of God in them, he says, "The Light and Dark be set before your living steps", and the choice between them is left for Man's own decision. When asked what Men could do, he says, "Seek all Light and walk in the ways of Truth", which as usual puts the stress on the possible and the practical, and not the theoretical or metaphysical. 'Even in Death', says the sage, the 'Riddle of the Universe' cannot be solved - a fact which we will find repeated in all Mansoul's encounters with the various sages. The sage's last advice to Man is again the practical moral lesson, "seek Oneness of your souls, with the Highest Good". Therein agree all the religions, creeds, and schools of morality.

From Persia the travellers move on to India, and the sage whose counsels they seek this time is the Buddha. Here new elements are at work, which affect a change in treatment, and an extension of perspective. Nebo was the pale impersonal mouthpiece of the early civilization of Babylon, and Zoroaster, more particular perhaps than Nebo, was nevertheless

just an exponent of a religion and a representative of a dead civilization. But India was very much alive in the minds of the Englishmen of the Nineteenth Century. Feelings of national glory and grandeur were part of it, for India was the brightest gem in the Imperial crown. But there was more to it than that. After Macauley the attitude of the English towards India underwent a subtle change. The Indians were no more the savages to whom England was bringing the light of civilization. They were fellow Aryans in terms of race, and the European civilization itself had its early tricklings there. The interest in Indian religions was part of the interest aroused in India's legacy. Christian thinkers who could not satisfy this inner search for links in the polytheistic tenets of Hinduism, found a peculiar similarity between their creed and that of the Buddhists, and because there was no possibility of a fierce enmity like those which bedevilled the history of Jewish-Christian and Christian-Moslem relationships, the Protestant Christians of Nineteenth Century England were ready at least for a suspension of disbelief, and at most for an expression of sympathy and agreement. The Buddha seemed to some of them another Isaiah, leaning forward and leading, in deeds if not in words, towards Christ. Doughty himself wanted to visit India, and he did, after the Arabian Journey, disembark at Bombay. But he was too tired, too ill to travel inland, and was forced to go back home.

In 'Mansoul' all these elements are at work. With 'Nebo' and 'Zoroaster' he was interested not in them but in what they were to say, and what they had to say was deliberately put into their mouths by the poet himself, and the 'Question and Answer' method was enough.

With the Buddha the situation is different. The Light shifts from the creed to its actual manifestation in the life of the man himself. Mansoul does not meet him to ask questions and get answers, as he did in the case of Nebo and Zoroaster, or in the case, later, of Confucius or the Priest of On. Mansoul here <u>sees</u> the 'Enlightened One' at work. His life is again enacted in the same way as that of Jesus or Stephen would be enacted in front of us later on. And that change in method entails a change in perspective, for whereas we meet Nebo, Zoroaster and the Priest of On as it were in an instant just awakened by Mansoul to talk to us and then [illegible] go back to their eternal sleep, we see the Buddha, Christ, Stephen and Socrates alive in an episode for each of a short narrative which tells the story of their early, middle and later years, and the scope is thus far widened. Here the Buddha's life is given to us from beginning to end. And indeed he seems to be the nearest to Doughty's heart among his non-Christian sages. Nor is it difficult to discover why. Here was a man of noble birth living an ordinary life blamelessly as the world goes, and then suddenly finding in himself an inner voice calling towards higher things:

> He thought him called Celestial Voice.

So he left his world and fared forward until he found his ease of mind, and then came back to preach "in field and street, Man's perfect life" "with words of light and peace". Like Mansoul and Doughty, he was a seeker of Light, a Suwwah. (1) Like Minimus and Doughty he was 'an anchorite'.

(1) An Arabic word simply meaning 'tourist' or 'one who travels'; but Doughty always uses it with that slightly widened meaning of a 'traveller seeking knowledge and wisdom'.

Like Doughty he was a married man, but he sacrificed the need for worldly comfort to strive towards higher ends. Like Doughty's message, his message is that of hope and the victory of Good over Evil - first of all in our inner selves:

When finally, O beloved, shall be quenched,
All malice, within your faithful hearts, rejoice.

Mansoul does not ask questions here because the life of the Buddha uncovered in front of our eyes is enough. This emphasises the fact which we have already referred to - that the nature of Mansoul's quest and Doughty's message is more in the field of practical life than in the field of metaphysics or theology - not religion as a system and an institution, but religion as the way of blameless living, not religion as an objective catechism of a metaphysical abstract problem, but religion as a personal quest for the right path. The Buddha points the way to Doughty's brand of Christianity, but before the poem arrives at the climax of Mansoul's quest in Christ and Stephen, Doughty carries on his travels in the ages before Christ's birth.

After India and the Buddha there follow China and Confucius. And here again there is a new element, for each of Doughty's sages, imaginary or historical, seems to add his slight contribution to Mansoul's apologetics. Confucius, the historical sage of China, never pretended to find a religion, and in a discussion of 'Religion' as such it is hard to find room for him, even if you find a room for an ancient priest of Egypt or Persia. But he was a 'Teacher' of morality, the founder of a way of life, and that suited admirably Doughty's stress on the practical side of religion. Confucius set down a set of moral values, and an assessment of

human behaviour and that is exactly what Doughty would want all the sages to do. Man, knowing nothing about the ways of Gods, should nevertheless work his way towards 'Good'. Doughty (1) like Confucius was always:

"Seeking some Prince which should reform the Time;
Conformably with what precepts he set forth;
Of virtue, ingenerate in all human hearts."

Like Doughty, Confucius recites "some Old World leys, and sayings of antique sages", and like him he is an artist, not a poet but a musician. When Mansoul questions him, Confucius stresses the limitations of Man's ability to understand: "I enter not, In things too high for me". And when we hear it we are sure to take it, not from Confucius, to whom it probably never occurred, but from Doughty, the Nineteenth Century English poet, whose mind was supposed to find the right way between the blind secular aggressiveness of Science, and the blind stubbornness of men of religion. Still Confucius does not escape Doughty's forcing of his own ideas on his sages. In the field of practical life, he repeats what we have already heard from them all:

"Man was born upright.
Obey Heaven's hests, which written are on all hearts."

Doughty never perhaps noticed that included in that saying is an admission, on the part of Confucius, of the existence of 'Heaven' and its domination over all hearts, which is indeed a point admitted by all in 'Mansoul'. If questioned Doughty could of course defend the change in the opinions of Kebo, Zoroaster, Confucius and the rest, as a change subsequent to their death, and part of the knowledge his 'Mansoul' could not find in

(1) Witness 'The Clouds'.

their books, and therefore travelled for it to the lower spheres. But Doughty does not bother himself with these subtle sophistries. Confucius, generally speaking, still concerns himself with Man's life between Good and Evil:

"Two Selves war in Man's being: the High Intent;
That walketh in Truth; this sue, souls comeliness:
And that suppress, the Beast beneath the breast."

And one regrets that Doughty has not gone on to give us some account of the 'war' between the two selves, and the heart of man rent between the 'High Intent' and the 'Beast beneath the breast'. These tremors in Doughty are so rare. Alas! Doughty always ends these so easily and so quickly, determining the issue in the most facile manner on the side of virtue, hope and righteousness that one wonders if he really knew the 'anguish of the marrow'. In this case, for instance, the words of Confucius easily end in a world of grace and light, where all is: "Measure, benevolence, grace and harmony", and where even 'Reason' itself, always the nagging bully and the source of doubt and danger, becomes the benevolent ruler, who "rules of every righteous breast".

From China we go to Japan, but Doughty and his age knew so little about Japan's early religion that the reference here is vague to its past and present (1) glories, "In Arts of Peace and War", nor was it possible to discover any past wisdom in the "New Continent" of America. So their faces are turned again westward, and on their way

(1) This is not meant to belittle the interests of the Nineteenth Century England in the emergence of the New Japan, and its impact on the World Scene.

they come to a cave where the "Fates: Hanged tables of Destiny", so Mansoul asks the 'Voice' to help them "find and read the Legend therein writ!" but the 'Voice' speaks against it. The divine 'Voice' thus sets its face against the revelation of "Man's Destiny". Since this is exactly the metaphysical theological side of Mansoul's quest, Her answer is all-important, coming as it does, not from a human sage, but from the divine 'Voice' itself which guides the 'Seekers' along their way:

> Man's destiny is veiled, with an eternal cloud.
> The Fates' decrees, not visible are to sight.

This unsurmountable wall does not hinder Mansoul nor end the quest, and he discourses "with certain spirits" of prophets, philosophers, and old poets. But most of their words our author, as in many cases in Doughty's works, says he has forgotten! The few words which he did remember show Mansoul arguing with others. Mansoul raises a new point here:

> "And is there any, amongst the sons of men;
> To whose Testimony all Humanity might trust?"

They are all, he says, like Mansoul himself "gropers in thick Musk!"

They are all, he says, tainted with the baseness of human flesh, nor is there unanimity amongst them, but discord and differences - So how could they be trusted? The Voices reply that a few indeed are self-deluded, but "the lips of many have spoken words of Life". The Voices add that the best of the sages agree among themselves

> "That in well-doing and righteous human life;
> Sure pathway lies unto Immortal Gods."

Along that pathway, they say, "Man's Reason is his lamp and only guide". Now that is repeated in more than one place in 'Mansoul', and if it were the one and only unequivocal answer Doughty gives us, we would have had

him clearly and squarely on the side of secularism and science and not religion in the fierce controversies of the later Nineteenth Century. But as usual Doughty had his feet in both worlds at the same time. The lines which follow directly after show the weaknesses and the defects of 'Man's Reason' so much so that one hesitates in depending on it:

> Not uniform is that Reason of a man;
> But warped, with every variance of the World;
> His time, place, partiality and brief years.

Thus we are where we have started, and the quest is resumed. In Merlin's glass they see Arabia, "One of the great waste places of the Earth". Of Arabia Doughty of course knew much more then he knew about India or China. But sometimes excessive knowledge is an obstacle in the way of objective treatment. If Doughty had not gone along the road in which he travelled, and the life he lived, from England to Arabia and back, it is possible that Islam and the Prophet Muhammad would have found a place in 'Mansoul'. It is possible to think that they were not included in 'Mansoul' because they were fully dealt with in the great prose epic of his travels, yet the Arabian sun, the Arabian sky, and the void in the desert, its poor wandering tribes, their herdmen's tents and their pastoral life, their councils and their hospitality are all fully dealt with in the 'Arabia' and again included in 'Mansoul'. And because 'Mansoul' is mainly a religious quest and a series of meetings with humanity's past sages it would have been more suitable to bring in Muhammad and Islam than to repeat his comments on the petty affairs of the tent-dwellers of Arabia. But Doughty was a hard man to change, obstinate and unswerving in his convictions. It is strange that 'Nebo'

should be included and not 'The Nabi'. It is strange that Crete should be brought in and not Rome. It is strange that Confucius should be included, and not one of the long list of the Hebrew prophets. It is not a matter of knowledge on the part of his audience, for his audience knew more about Stephon then about Muhammad, and they certainly knew about Athens and Socrates. But one cannot help noticing that Doughty's earlier utterances against them band together the three main omissions in 'Mansoul'. The 'Arabia' showed his aversion to the Semites, Arabs and Hebrews, and 'The Dawn in Britain' plays the Celts up and the Romans down.

In 'Mansoul' he could bring himself around to praise the Arab tent-dwellers and their hospitality, but not to praise Islam, or allow his 'Mansoul' to try to learn from the Prophet of Islam. The passage of years mellowed down his anger but could not change his convictions - So that he prays God to help them in their poverty and destitution. The tone is kinder and more becoming our octogenarian poet, and the years have not dimmed his memories. He even remembers the 'Ateyfa', (See "Arabia Deserta": I, page 61, and II, page 304.), and makes her an Arabian 'Sister Gertrude' who "warbles shrill battle-note, entering into fight", and tells of the battles between tribes.

From Arabia on to Midian and Petra's "Valley of Tombs" and Sinai; thence to Egypt, where the newly-discovered sources of the Nile in Ethiopia and the heart of Africa are dutifully recorded. (1) Egypt

(1) Newly-discovered in Doughty's younger days, and not when 'Mansoul' was written. But Doughty's knowledge of the external world had stopped long ago.

reminds him of the mummies and through them the ancient Egyptian Civilization, the wonders of which were a source of fascination in Doughty's youth and middle age. Its representative here is a priest of 'On', and for a short while the questioner is questioned. The priest asks 'Mansoul' about life in Egypt, and Mansoul-Doughty answers that Egyptians were then living happily ever after: "O'er all, the Right and Just prevail". Here you have the usual gloss in Doughty over what he does not know about or care to discuss. For Egypt at that time was in one of the most turbulent years of its modern history. The Occupying Army and the Government were not able to guarantee peace, so much so that a Royal Commission was sent to examine the situation. But all that was not important and Doughty's aim is to bring into 'Mansoul' the famous ancient civilization of Egypt, and at the same time refer to and use his own visit to Egypt in his early years in this last record of his thoughts. Mansoul tries to discover the secrets of the rites of Ancient Egyptian worship of the Gods but the priest upbraids them for their "fond quest". It is impossible, he says, for Man to discover these secrets: "Twixt Man and heavenly knowledge lies vast Gulf, Mind cannot overferry:" And again he repeats the lesson we hear from every sage, that all wisdom lies in doing good: "Who walketh in Truth", him will the gods reward. That is the only thing that matters. "More then this is vain," says the Priest.

From Egypt we cross the sea to Crete, where Minos is said to rule in the benevolent way of Doughty's good rulers teaching "statutes

and ordinances" to his people; and from thence we cross to Greece and Athens. In Athens of course there was an abundance of suitors for a place on the pages of 'Mansoul'. The Choice does not fall on Plato, the poet-philosopher par excellence or on Aristotle the Mind, or on Pythagoras the teacher-philosopher-scientist. Each of them could have been used for full advantage here. Yet Doughty's choice is Sophoniscos' son - Socrates. And he indeed seems to be the most suitable of them all for a place in Doughty's work. Doughty was clearly not an intellectual philosopher, fond of the intellectual nuances and the quick turns of barren thought. Indeed the whole trend in 'Mansoul' is to stress the practical side of philosophy, the part of it which concerns the ways and methods of living - in other words moral philosophy. Thus Socrates whose philosophical trials did not establish an intellectual system suited well the vague generalizations of Doughty's thought. Socrates was also the father of moral philosophy, whose aim was to discover the right path, and not the proper intellectual system. He was also the man of modesty who walked barefooted in the market places, and yet worked hard for the good of humanity. He was nearer Minimus than his aristocratic disciple Plato or the tutor of princes - Aristotle. Unlike them again he lived his philosophy, and applied it in every moment of his life, and consummated this noble sense of dedication in his last sacrifice. Thus everything in him suited 'Mansoul' admirably. He is the best example for a man, not of religion but of philosophy and logic, using his 'Reason' to help man escape from error. As in the case of Buddha before and of Christ after, Socrates is not questioned or confronted by Mansoul.

Socrates is shown to us like them in his 'Natural habitat'. He is at work in the streets of Athens, surrounded by some of his disciples, while the people of Athens are busy in some of their mystagogic festivities. The situation itself is significant, for here is Socrates, applying the rules of human reason on the religion of his contemporaries exactly as any rational thinker would expose the fallacies of superstition. But when he is asked about the positive constructive side, questions for which Reason has no answer, he goes into a trance! Doughty does not give us a poetic equivalent to Plato's conversations where the ruthless logic of the mind is used to destroy fallacies and build up rational philosophical systems. Indeed one doubts Doughty's ability to do anything of the sort. Socrates only says that Men cannot discover by reason 'the secret of the Gods'. All the advice he could give was to keep the 'harmony between body and soul' and try always to live in faith of the Eternal Good. Other than that Man cannot know.

From Greece we go to Palestine, which one would expect to be the heart of a Christian search for Truth; and Doughty in spite of all the talk about the wisdom of the whole world, and in spite of the stress laid on science in his studies and on human endeavour in his works, is still within the large Christian fold. It depends upon the way we look at religion, for if God is one, and religion is one, then religion is all inclusive, and a belief in God and in Good anywhere becomes a part of the all-inclusive whole. It is only when you begin to think in terms of one individual unit, of a religion, that the otherness of the other

creeds shows itself and is keenly felt. Those who look at Doughty as a non-Christian agnostic thinker should be careful of their own brand of Christianity. For if Christianity is The Religion of Man, including all the life and history of creation, then Doughty is not wrong in bringing in Nebo, Zoroaster, the Priest of On, Confucius or the Buddha. For all these are either earlier promptings of God to Man, or yearnings of Man to God, and must be included in the wider enclosure of the religion - in this case, of Christianity.

Of these two sides of 'Religion' - Promptings of God to Man and yearnings of Man to God - Doughty by temperament and choice tends to stress the second. The stress is everywhere in "Mansoul" on the attempts of Man to find God; on the practical side of religion rather than its theology and metaphysics. The book itself is about the soul of man in search for Truth, and the search takes the practical method and manner of an actual journey. That is how he was able to bring in a man like Socrates, who had tried hard and even sacrificed his life to prove the ability of Man to walk in the right path. To Doughty there is nothing in this that contradicts or lies outside the tenets of Christianity. Science, literature and even language itself can be parts of this human endeavour towards the right path. Each of them thus becomes a subject of moral judgement and an integral part of the religious theme. If Man with all his prodigious strength and all his keen faculties walks in all his actions in the ways of the 'blameless life', there is nothing to prevent him from reaching God. Thus the pursuit of history, archeeology, geology, literature and poetry become parts of man's religious endeavour,

and the endeavour is both communal and personal. Mansoul stands for all humanity and his world is all the world of Man, in all time and all space. The lessons gained by each and all become part of Man's heritage.

Still "Mansoul" is also one person, with all the weaknesses of an individual. He is not so great as to tower over everything in life. He is still in ignorance and in doubt and in the humbleness of Minimus. His quest is all men's quest and at the same time a personal quest. And all along, the sages, be they representatives of their various civilizations or be they individuals who have searched for the right path, are <u>individual</u> sages. The problem is thus tackled in terms of persons to show in practice as well as in theory that it is a personal problem. It is Doughty's own search for truth, as much as it is everybody else's. The ways of Good discovered by all are universal ways, and the God acknowledged by all is both the Universal and the Personal God. Doughty certainly believes in one universal personal God. Thus the travels from Mesopotamia to Persia, to India, China, Egypt and Greece lead inevitably to Palestine and Christ and to England and Doughty.

In Palestine Doughty's practical mind deals with a subject familiar to all his readers though studied perhaps more fully by him than by most of them. Hence the way in which the early history of Palestine is summed up here. Pre-Israelite Palestine is shown to have been the usual path of Conquerors to and from the great river Empires of Egypt and Assyria. Pre-Israelite inhabitants of Palestine are said to have come from the Arabian Wilderness, thought to be the original home

of the Semitic Race. (1) His earlier Arabian experiences seem to have influenced permanently his ideas concerning the Semites. When he relates a part of the history of the Jews, he carefully tells us that "Their chronicles thus relate". Later on he uses terms of outspoken doubt rarely used in Doughty - "As they allege". Notice moreover the fate of David here, he whom Christian authors have always hallowed and respected. David was a leader like Moses, but unlike Moses, he was also an inspired poet. David was the anointed and chosen lord of the 'chosen' people, and he was eternally honcured in Christianity when Christ himself was called the 'Son of David'. In Medieval European literature, and in the early Renaissance, and indeed among all those, who, like Doughty, believed in the divine sources of poetry, David the author of the Psalms was the supreme example of the inspired poet. (2) Whatever side of his character you consider, David seemed an admirable choice for Doughty's brand of men, more so than Caedmon or even Colin. Yet Doughty here treats David shabbily if not disparagingly. (3) David and his followers were:

> "Lurkers in caves, living by nightly stealths;
> After the manner of the Arabians,
> Outlaws and reavers; of their neighbour's flocks."

After David comes Christ, and the part of the founder of Christianity and those early stages of the new creed deserve// our most special scrutiny. Hogarth says that "a press notice of the original

(1) A point already dealt with in the Chapters on "Arabia Deserta".

(2) The Nineteenth Century doubts about the authorship of the Psalms might or might not have had an effect on Doughty's belief in David as the inspired poet. The point is not important here.

(3) Thus he was treated in "Arabia Deserta". See Chapter IV.

issue (Mensoul, 1920) had remarked that the strong religious tone of it was not distinctively Christian", (1) and hints that this might have been the reason for the changes Doughty had made in "Mensoul"'s later version (1923). Hogarth himself speaks about Doughty's "deep, but agnostic, reverance for religious creeds". Anne Treneer also says that "there is no evidence that he considered the Christian Revelation any more capable of withstanding what he called the 'salt of science' than the Mohammeden. His Christianity is not faith in a revelation, but a proud adherence to something beautiful in itself, and formative in the history of his people..... He is a devout agnostic, with a racial respect for and a personal love of the name of Christ; combined with a natural piety, and a religious awe at the spectacle of the Universe". (Page 46).

Hogarth was a personal friend of Doughty, and Miss Treneer was a personal friend of Mrs. Doughty and her daughters, and their understanding of Doughty's character and his works is certainly great. It is unwise to disagree with any of them, and more unwise to disagree with both of them. But after reading what Doughty has written on the subject of science and religion, and studying him carefully, I must confess I understand his point of view, but I <u>do not</u> understand what Hogarth and Treneer call his 'devout agnosticism'. Now an agnostic is a man, who, if asked about a supernatural phenomenon, or anything beyond the natural phenomena, about God, for instance, or the angels or the supernatural powers, answers simply "I do not know", because he accepts only the facts conveyed through the senses and proved by Reason! T.H. Huxley coined the word

(1) Hogarth, Page 202.

because he was dissatisfied with the terms applied before. He was not an atheist, he said, because atheism was a positive stand against and a total denial of, God; while all he could say about Him was, "I do not know". Nor was he ready to be linked with Haeckel's Monistic denial of religion, or Hegel's equally unacceptable 'Idealistic Monism'. Neither was Huxley ready to be called a naturalist, because that smacked of the positive denial and non-acceptance of non-material existence. Thus to express a naturalistic materialistic approach in science, and at the same time a passive (not for nor against) approach to theology, he made up the new designation of an 'agnostic'.

Now it is clear that Doughty believes in Science: "But let us enter" says he in "Arabia Deserta" (II, Page 381), "the indestructible temple-building of science, wherein is Truth", (Notice still the twist which makes scientific research itself a <u>temple</u>-building!) Again he speaks about the 'salt of science' and 'the leaven of science', the results of which he absolutely trusts. What science has proved, nobody can deny. Speaking about the new discoveries of his chosen field of geology, he says in "Mansoul" (Page 121) "A Book of Truth, which none can contradict, ... The Annals of this old Terrestrial Mass". And 'Reason' as we have seen in its analysis of these scientific facts, its sifting and recording, is indeed our only reliable guide. In this Doughty does not differ at all from all scientists, Huxley included. Another point of agreement between Doughty and Huxley, which is indeed fraught with the danger of misleading us in the case of the former if we do not recognize the limits of it in his work, is the attitude of

both towards formal religion. The clash between Huxley and the Bishops is too well-known to discuss. And Doughty is no less critical or less opposing than Huxley. At times his attack is so severe that the mind jumps to extreme conclusions of his real motives and his exact ideas. The early drift of this priest's son to the study of science is one signal on the way. His well-known neglect of praying in Churches all along his later years is another. But the fiercest attacks are to be found in "Arabia Deserta". We do not only mean his attacks on Islam with which we have already dealt. We mean his remarks on the other religions as well. (1)

Both in the Nineteenth Century, as we have shown, and in the Renaissance, a great part of the sacred beliefs of earlier generations were vilified in a manner beside which all the writings of Doughty, even againat Islrm, would seem strangely mild and tame. In the Tudor Age the strife was fiercer and nearer the heart of England. The clash was then intense and all-consuming. It was no more intellectual or emotional strife. It involved everything in the life of all men, the future of the country and their State. And Doughty who was able to transplant himself so successfully to the world of that period, and look at things "With the eyes of Spenser", as he says, inherited at least some of the manner of that fierce virile clash. Bishop Morton's "Romish Iniquitie (1646)" was read by Doughty in Oxford (See Hogarth's list of Doughty's borrowings, Page 206). It was one of the fiercest attacks ever

(1) For a detailed discussion of these points, see Chapters I and III.

written on Roman Catholicism. Doughty's outbursts against Islam sometimes recall attacks like these, although his are certainly in a milder vein. His attacks are possibly more akin to the milder controversies which are found even in Ascham, or Hooker or Bacon. To these, more than to the logical intellectual and scientific reasonings of Huxley and the scientists one would attach Doughty's vehement outbursts. Huxley was dealing with Science and Religion. Ascham, Hooker, Bacon - and Doughty - were dealing with forms of religion.

Now to make the point clearer, let us look at the aim of each group. Huxley would have us believe exclusively in Science and Reason, and trust them without any reservations to lead us towards 'Truth', which can only be scientific truth. Doughty believed in Science and Reason, but doubted the <u>perfect</u> efficiency of that one tool. When he says "We have only Reason for our base", he follows it directly with a qualifying question, "But who can tell how far that may fall very short of the divine?" To his realization of the usefulness and competence of Reason, add his equal realization of its shortcomings and weaknesses. We have seen in our discussion of "Mansoul" many examples of that, but it was there in Doughty from the beginning. Truth meant for him something infinitely larger than the 'truth' of scientists to which 'Reason' could be a competent guide. Truth might be naturally felt as much as, if not more than, it can be intellectually or logically discerned, for it is "so of kin to our better nature that we should know her, even through a rent of her veil, as the young one knows his mother." ("Arabia Deserta" II, Page 378). That is no mere scientific theory, or belief only in

logic. In many of his letters, and indeed in many parts of his poetry, Doughty has expressed the notion that science knows indeed very little. All man's span of life on earth, he says, was too short to allow an adequate knowledge of anything, leave alone the limits of Truth or Knowledge in general. All Man's knowledge through the ages, and through the sages, was only a small fraction of the whole. Reason and scientific research had helped us to discover some part, and what we know through them is certain knowledge based upon the rock of science.

He, like most of the thinkers of the Victorian Age, was optimistic, sure of the ability of Man's reason to discover more, and hopeful of the march of time. But the unknown, the undiscoveredpart does not loom large in the science and the minds of the scientists of the Nineteenth Century. Their discoveries were too much and their optimism too great to allow them to doubt. Not so Doughty, who knew of the littleness of Man, and the inadequacy of what he knew. Doughty would have almost agreed to what Carlyle said, that "Science has done much for us.... But it is a poor Science that would hide from us the great, deep, sacred infinitude of Nescience whither we can never penetrate, on which all science swims as a mere superficial film" (Heroes, I.) In Doughty there has always been a consciousness of the unknown limitless bounds around us and a yearning, an attempt to penetrate the unknown, using Reason where Reason could help, and using faith and the power of inspiration and imagination, in the spheres where Reason is of no avail. Part of this was the inner drive that sent him to study geology in Norway, and archaeology and sociology in Arabia. In Arabia it showed in his constant gaze at the skies' 'stupendous bent', at the

heavenly stars, and his insistent queries about Nature. It shows itself again in "Adam Cast Forth" as much as it occasionally does in the Prophetic Books. And the last and greatest manifestation of it is in this quest of "Mansoul".

Mansoul's quest is clearly larger than scientific research; his field is wider than the field of science. His quest is all-inclusive, and his tools include Reason, but go beyond to the deeper ways of dreams and visions. Science is important, and philosophy is important, but poetry and prophecy and religion are the most important of all. In that controversy one cannot say that Doughty is completely on the side of science and reason. His realization of the wider field was too strong to allow him to be. And that is the field where religion reigns supreme. Science, it is true, works constantly to enlarge the field of certainty in human knowledge, and the wider our knowledge grows, the smaller the uncharted areas become. That is the basic philosophy of evolution and progress and hope in the future, which is at the heart of Victorianism, and is everywhere in Doughty's works. It is based on the belief in the ability of Man on one side, and on the other side on the belief in his inherent goodness. Truth and Goodness are within Man as much as they are in the Gods above him, and any way of life, any creed or religion which helps to bring it above is acceptable to Doughty - "He said it would have cost him little to have confessed himself a follower of Confucius or Socrates, but could not enter the solemn 'fools' paradise of the Moslems, their 'belly-cheer' paradise", says A. Traneer (Page 46). Any sage or prophet or apostle who had helped to bring out the best in

Man and better his lot was acceptable to him. "And what seek we in Religion? - is it not a perfect law of humanity? - to bind up the wounds, and heal the sores of human life; and a pathwry to heaven." ("Arabia Deserta" II, Page 379.) "Every religion," he says, "and were it ancientl begotten of a man's conscience, is born of human needs, and her utterance is true religion;". That is why fanaticism is abhorrent to Doughty. In "Arabia" where his anti-religious attitude was fiercest, we have noticed that kindness has always had a mellowing effect on him. With his distorted ideas of Islam, and his belief in the goodness of man, he was ready to jump to the twisted up-side-down conclusion that the Arabs were good, being human, and it was only 'Islam' which brought out the worst in them! Thus he was not ready to tolerate it himself. As far as Islam was concerned he became as adamant and as fanatic as those against whom he was raving!

The other creeds, and the other sages, the knowledge of whom came to him through books and never at first hand, were acceptable and indeed included in the message of "Wanderoul". One shudders at what Doughty would have written if he had lived for a while in Hindu India or Buddhist Japan. As it is, his 'fanaticism' is directed against 'Islam'. Buddhism as we have shown comes so near to his heart, but not nearer than Christianity. In Doughty's world, religions are no mere embellishments allowed to exist in a world of 'devout agnosticism' as Hogarth and Treneer try to make us believe. Religion is there at the heart of the picture, and religion there, is infinitely wider than the mere rites of a formal sect or denomination. Whatever could be

misunderstood as an attack on religion, and which was in fact an attack on formal religion, or on religion as understood by people around him, is collected in the few outbursts of "Arabia Deserta". "Righteousness, justice, sanctity spring naturally in the human conscience; they are lent to the religions: wherein divinity and human equity stand oft-times so far asunder that we might muse of a stone-age in their supposed heaven." "And they who have preached religions were moved by some worldly seeking."

At the same time Khalīl went throughout Arabia as a Christian, who values his beliefs and convictions so much that he was ready to die for them. His words on the 'sweet name of Christ' for which he was ready to die, and his insistence on his Christianity do not seem to be an act put on for a short while or a cloak to hide insincere motives. Would it not have been easier and more suitable not to insist on it if he were not a sincere believer in Christianity? Still there are other indications. A Christian killed by a fanatic before his time is called a "Child of Light" ("Arabia Deserta" II, Page 158). When speaking to Amm Mohamed about religion in general, he speaks of 'our religions' ("Arabia Deserta" II, Page 159). He also explains to them the relationship of Jesus to God ("Arabia Deserta" II, Page 159). When Salem asks him if he was not afraid, his answer is, "Is not Ullah in every place?" In another place he repeats after them the first part of the Islamic creed, "There is no God but God", and refuses adamantly to repeat the second part of it which says "And Mohammed is His Prophet". But even if we take all that as political expediency there are other indications everywhere in Doughty's works. "Adam Cast Forth" is not an objective dramatic situation in which

the writer was not involved. "The Dawn in Britain" and its exaltations of the first Christian emigrants to Britain was not simply a historical record in which the feelings of the author were not involved. There is a simple Christian piety in the makings of the simplest characters in the Prophetic Books. In "The Cliffs" (Part II) the Temple of Britain is built upon two pillars, one of which is religion. At last there comes "Wensoul" which is certainly not written by an 'agnostic' even if he were devout. Everything shows that religion is at the heart of Doughty's world. Then why would Hogarth and Treneer and the rest misunderstand it so?

There is indeed a realization, a certainty that Doughty's religious creed was different from the Christianity of the people around him. And if you believe that the Christianity of the Orthodox Churches, or the Catholic Church, or the Protestant Churches is the only Christianity that could be, then you are bound to consider him outside the Christian fold. But there are other Christian ways, ways which in their liberalism and tolerance would suit diverse and different people like Locke or Milton. In the earlier centuries those who would go those ways were looked at as stray sheep living outside the fold. Not so in the Nineteenth Century. The Anti-Trinitarian laws in England were repealed in 1813, and thence-forth, Unitarianism could officially be tolerated in England as a Christian sect.

Although the Trinitarians, the vast majority of Christians all over the world, might not admit the Unitarians as a Christian sect, we do not see that we should narrow it to that extent. Unitarians insist on

the unipersonality of the Godhead, and look upon Jesus Christ as an exalted human teacher, <u>the</u> teacher, and the greatest of all, but a <u>human</u> teacher all the same, and as such they would admit other earlier teachers although they would give them an inferior position vis-a-vis the Christ. Now Doughty's position is exactly similar to the Unitarian stand, and when I first read his works, and was unable to accept unconditionally the 'devout agnostic' position of Hogarth and Treneer, I thought Doughty was a Unitarian, for he accepts the transcendent deity, and even uses the usual Christian terms of 'The Fatherhood of God'. He also accepts the Brotherhood of Man and the Leadership of Christ in the community of Man. The belief in the goodness of Man, and the final victory of Good is also fundamental in his world. Thus all the various sides of Unitarianism are there. And true enough I found the proof in the mouth of the man himself. Because it is a corner-stone, a point of the utmost importance in the understanding of his work, I give due care to record here the exact place where Doughty's binding words are.

In the first of the "Note-books" of the Arabian journey deposited now at the Fitzwilliam Library in Cambridge on Page 33 Doughty has written, "As a Unitarian I see the Muslim rites inferior to the Jews". That first important admission is omitted from the published text of the "Arabia Deserta" and the reasons for the omission are perhaps stylistic or aesthetic or simply a deference to his Trinitarian readers. But the die is cast, and the label sticks - and suits his views admirably. And nowhere is it clearer than in "Mansoul", where after the various non-Christian sages of ancient times we come at last to Palestine and Jesus.

"Words that He taught, were words of deathless life:
Such being as no man's lips before His spoke."

and then again of Christianity "healing of all Nations of Round Earth",

and following suit on the next page we have an attack on the priests'

'formal ears'.

Christianity is shown in the life and teachings of Christ, as much as Buddhism was shown in the life and teachings of the Buddha. But the effects of the Christian teachings are given more space and more prominence in that they are shown at work, unlike any of the other creeds exposed in "Mansoul", in the life of one of its early adherents. Thus it is not the metaphysics of Christianity, not the theology that is given ascendence but the practical fruits of its teachings in the actual life of man. And the choice of the subject is as significant as the preference of Socrates to Plato and Aristotle. Here he does not choose the more famous names of Peter or Paul, more famous that is in the field of Christian metaphysics, but decides upon Stephen, the first man who sacrificed himself happily for what he deemed the right path leading all men towards 'Good'. Significantly Stephen calls Jesus, "our great High-Priest", words which any Christian might use, but to the Trinitarians appear as a metephor, while to the Unitarians they are literally true. Jesus' story also stresses and projects points of His 'humanity' without openly offending Trinitarian ears. Little do we find, says Doughty "in our new Greekish scriptures ... recorded" of his boyhood, "And of his early manhood even less". Poor people are said to have enquired if he was not "some new Prophet-Teacher, sent from God?". He was the 'Anointed'. He had 'Authority but it was that "Authority, which was in the Prophets,

Of Israel, in old days". His lips were 'divine' but He prayed, "Submitting wholly, to the Will Divine". And possibly the most significant fact in the 'Jesus-Stephen' episode in the poem is that everywhere else, in Mesopotamia, Persia, India, China, Egypt or Greece, Mansoul was either a questioner or a recorder of words and events. "It is only here in the Sepulchre of Jesus, that we worshipped in that place".

There is no doubt of the Christianity of Doughty. Yet as we have already said, for him Christ was no divinity, and Christianity was one of the ways, the most important, yet not the only way. Being himself in a minority in opposition to the Majority of Christians and knowing as he did the historical controversies of Christianity, and having studied as we have shown the fierce battles of the Reformation, and being himself a part of the Nineteenth Century controversy, Doughty could not escape the apparent discordance existing (historically speaking) even after the advent of Christ and the martyrdom of Stephen. He was too much aware of the doubts and the contradictions not to try to express them. So in the heart of the Jesus story, referring to what must have been for him the stumbling-block which prevented him from accepting the Trinitarian view of Christianity, he says:

> Where deeds recorded are to have been wrought,
> Which everwith hath perplexed Man's halting thoughts,
> And too much yet divided heart from heart.

That wonderful last line certainly refers to the divisions <u>within</u> Christianity. The deeds, I am sure, refer to the story woven around Christ's Tomb. The crucifixion is not difficult to believe in, but

Unitarians find it difficult to accept Christ's resurrection to sit in the highest as God's Second Person.

In a Trinitarian Christian poem this would be the climax, the last crowning of human endeavour towards 'Good', and what follows would only be a sequel either in 'Hell' or in 'Paradise'. With "Mansoul" it is bound to be different. Doubts are not yet quelled, and the discussions and controversies within Christianity itself do not help the questioner to settle down. Mansoul goes on his quest, and what follows is indeed the part, full more than any other part, of doubts and heart-searching. Practically all the questions which were asked before are repeated and new doubts arise. But Mansoul prays, and the prayer itself is clearly a haven. It means that "Mansoul" has come to some resting place and indeed on Page 119 we have the Tennysonian queries of:

> "What may a soul, in days wherein we live;
> When knowledge by so much more is increased:
> As semblable to right Image of that Sooth;
> Which Heaven at first implanted in Man's breast:
> Receive. Where is the Touchstone; whereby might,
> It be examined and thoroughly tried."

to which the answer is given by 'Mansoul' himself on Page 120:

> "We thereto accede, by Faith, and not by Sight."

Thus faith and trust in God and Religion are coupled with the absolute certainty of Science, "which none can contradict", (Page 121) and Reason. The scientist in Doughty believes in the rational, and in Reason as the instrument with which man can understand and unravel the mystery of the world, and the religious man in Doughty acknowledges the existence of a deeper world of which as yet only little is known, and

about which he takes the teachings of religion on trust. That necessitates the constant enquiry about the 'Riddle of the Universe' and the continuous probing of all "crevices in thick murk". With that Hansoul's journey in the Underworld ends, and he is allowed to come nearer home.

At home in Europe the great War is raging, an evil act of men which must be explained. Doughty's explanation is, as usual, no condemnation of Man as such, as so many thinkers and poets shocked by the terror and horrors of war have come to do, but a condemnation of a negligible minority, indeed in this case of one man - the Kaiser, whose worst quality is that he is "a godless enemy". Thus what superficially seems to some (Hogarth, Page 194) to be a digression, fits in beautifully. It brings us back to the happenings of the present time in Europe, and allows Doughty to indulge in some of his rare personal outpourings. Not only do his patriotic feelings find expression - his pride in his country and race and in the Five Free generous 'Nations' and the valiant courage of all - which is perhaps common to all his books, and certainly is a reflection of feelings already expressed in the Prophetic Books, but also his feelings as an old man of eighty wanting, but unable, to go and fight himself. In the famous battle of Gallipoli Doughty's nephew fought like a hero and died. (1) To that is the indirect reference in:

"..... those, (late children!) thus before us passed."

Nearer home then was War and devastation, and war and devastation

(1) And was awarded the V.C. posthumously. Earlier he fought in China, India, The Sudan and South Africa and served in Turkey and Abyssinia.

in modern times always bring back to Doughty memories of similar situations in past history. As we have already seen in the Prophetic Books, here again the Muse of Britain is invoked, and with feelings of Doughty's usual brand of Patriotism. History then, Patriotism, poetry and prophecy mixed together give a succession of scenes in which each scene is an apparent digression leading to another flagrant digression, but in which the basic foundations of the whole fit in well with his theme.

Whenever the Muse is mentioned in Doughty she brings with her memories of the pastoral poetry of the Spenserian Age. Colin, Hobbinol and Rosalind show how immersed Doughty was in the study of the pastoral poetry and the eclogues of Spenser, Sydney, Daniel and Drayton, and bring into this last poem, summing-up his theory and practice, one of the most recurrent themes of his poetry. (1) This world of Spring, of innocent Nature and innocent shepherd life in which poetry flows and prophecy comes naturally, where man's world is all happiness and good, where the elderly carry on at ease, and the vigorous young defend their Fatherland.

"That Golden World, when men with Gods conversed;"

where even the words of the language spoken by men were

"Elect and true, weighed in just balances,"

is Doughty's ideal world, and that is what, in terms of the past, the early part of Book V is concerned with. The inspired poet-shepherd in whom divine prophecy and great poetry and the deepest sense of patriotism are shown all at work at the same time is "Saxon Caedmon". Hogarth again

(1) Pastoral poetry was discussed in Chapter VII.

considers this as a digression, and in all appearances it is a digression, but one fraught with all the importence of Doughty's digressions.

In "Mansoul", this last treasure of Doughty's thoughts, the aim does not seem to be simply to find an answer for two or three questions only. It is the quintessence of all his ideas and experiences. That is why the Caedmon episode is important. First notice the similarity in Doughty's mind between his own situation and that of Caedmon. It is not only that Doughty believes in the divine nature of poetic inspiration, but that Caedmon also was doing something similar to what Doughty wanted to do. Caedmon recites in Mansoul not the simple religious poetry traditionally accredited to his name but tells stories of valiant patriotic resistance in by-gone days at the attack of enemies on his Fatherland, in the same way in which Doughty recited the patriotic verses of "The Dern in Britain". Caedmon in "Mansoul" also urges the young to defend their country against the invadors of the day in the same way in which Doughty urged this generation of Britain's youth to defend their country against its modern enemies in "The Prophetic Books". What Caedmon tells his sons, is moreover, part of the history of ancient Britain, which Doughty would like all the British people of today always to know and bear in mind. Behind it lies Doughty's theory that the Britons of today are the inheritors of all the waves of attackers and attacked, victors and vanquished, in the long history of Britain. (1) In this case the Anglo-Saxons are defending the land against the Vikings and Danes, attackers from the North, but this serves as an example of a pattern repeated regularly throughout the ages.

(1) Doughty's historical ideas were discussed in Chapter V.

Perhaps more important still is the theory of poetry put here into practice in this episode on Caedmon. For as much as the history of Anglo-Saxon runs into the history of present day Britain, and as much as the blood of all the Races of yesterday runs in the veins of the Britons of today, so also does their language of yesterday run into the language of today. When the British forget their history and their race they also forget their language, and the best that Doughty can do, a duty which is sacred to him, and a task which lies near his heart, is to draw the attention of his countrymen to the riches of their language, when Doughty deliberately emulates Anglo-Saxon poetry with its compound words, its brick-like adjectives and visual imagery. He even goes on to use a purely Anglo-Saxon word in "Herry (Praise)" (Page 151). It so happens that the only poem, accredited now by recent commentators to Caedmon himself, a short poem of nine lines, has that word (hergan or herigean) in its first line, but Doughty did not know that Caedmon would later be robbed of the honour of writing the other religious Anglo-Saxon poems from 'Genesis'. To him Caedmon was the author of a considerable body of early English poetry, and for the theme of "Mansoul" here, the fact that all Caedmon's poetry is religious was very important. Even in these digressions Doughty was serving what Professor Fairley considers the main theme of "Mansoul".

If the Caedmon episode is a digression, what follows it is in fact the farthest digression from the world of reality you can find in the work of Doughty. As in the case of "The Dawn in Britain" or "The Cliffs" or "The Clouds" there is no clear separation here between history

or pseudo-historical fact or legend. History traced backwards is bound to fade in hazy realms of unchartered human life. Doughty's favourable device for the transference here to the earliest ages, is the one used before, notably in "The Titans", of an 'antique' book being read by the poet, telling of those earliest ages. In "Mansoul" here, we have the poet telling us through these 'old books' of the various earlier steges of life. First:

> "a chronicke old, hath taught;
> How winged spirits, of angels' heavenly race;
> Stoop", (Mansoul, Page 166)

from the skies to pick flowers in Springtime. They who did that at the beginning of life, still do it today. The beauty of Nature in Britain is appreciated even by the heavenly host. Secondly, to emphasize the blend of history and legend, of fact or semi-fact and fancy, the poet passes by the beauty of Nature, in plant, in bird and bee, and comes near 'Stonhenge', where the 'Titans' and its world of Giants and Gods are remembered, again through 'an hoar tradition' (Pages 167-8). That leads to the now familiar story:

> How once held Titan-brood this upland march;
> Before the world was civil,

and in a new short version, the classical story of the Titans' fight this time against 'Gorgot' is told. The reason given now is different, nearer in fact to the Promethean story of classical mythology:

> ..... greatly incensed, that Titans granted life
> To Mothers sons. (Page 170),

the God forced them to build 'Stonehenge'.

Again the reading in the 'antique' book is continued to the

stage which follows suit, after the death of those 'not immortal' though 'long-aged' giants. Here follows the now familiar contrast.

After giants:

..... I find it writ,
Succeeded in their room blithe faerie-folk.

Then follows the legend of 'Faerie-Land' not being a world by itself, but, at that early period being on the 'main', Europe itself - the legend which Chaucer, Doughty's acknowledged master, sets down thus:

In th' olde dayes of King Arthour,
Of which that Britons speken greet honour,
Al was this land fulfild of fayerye. (The Tale of the Wife of Bath)

Doughty revels at writing elvish poetry, and his elvish poetry is certainly an important part of his unique contribution to English poetry. But the world of faeries, which in "The Cliffs" was all joy and merriment, all gladness, brightness and happiness, bears here traces of the burden this aged poet feels in attempting to put through his 'message' in "Mansoul". Although the irresponsibly gay atmosphere of faery life is caught once more - and here Doughty is again at his best - still, the faeries themselves are not im perfect harmony or perfect happiness. A time of the 'Moon's eclipse', was predicted by the faerie's 'Seer' as the end of their life here:

A panic-terror seized the little folk;

and they start like birds to emigrate.

In that great jeopardy, all who could leap and run,
Caught up their budgets, busked them over the Form.
Some on snatcht broad leaves, many on branches green,
Which when they had put on their wishing-caps;
Turned under them to flying quilts and mats.

and the flight of faery folk from the mainland of Europe to the Island beyond the sea, which they call 'Albion' is one of the happiest of the flights of Doughty's imagination. And as usual in his happier lyrical moods, Doughty introduces the rare rhyme, mostly internal but sometimes, just hovering at the horizon at the end of the line:

"The birds be singing, the wild woods are ringing:
'T is Time of the new leaf, when those arrive:
In Land wherein they hope anew to live."

and then again: "The horned Moon, in sight appearing soon."

In Britain the faeries, in the same manner in which the new Gaulish settlers of Britain in the Epic chose their King, choose Oberon as the faery King. And in perfect parody of the humen scene in the Epic, the faeries put their house in order. Helmbright is their duke; Wakerobin in their reeve; Horn, their chief magistrate; Melilot, their recorder, and Hazelwood their herald. Even their champions are there:

"Follow elf-champions, with stern martial tread;
Thickets of bended bows and gilt-headed speers."

As it is all the steps of their migration to Britain, the construction of their governing bodies, and even the selection of their king, is very much near the developments in human society and in British history, as Doughty saw them and expressed them in many parts of his works. That Doughty's eye was not completely focussed on Oberon and his Kingdom, but with one eye as it were was looking at British history is made clear by the fact that he makes his elves witness and record some of the Invasions of Northern Pagans, which Britain was to suffer, and the withdrawal of the Britons to the North and West. Elves indeed give us the same episode

of British history which was, in a different manner, described by Caedmon.

In introducing the main personalities of his elvish realm, Doughty is again not wholly absorbed in his subject. To the part preoccupation with man's world, his attention seemed to be divided by purely literary notions. Indeed this is generally the case whenever elvish or pastoral or Nature poetry is concerned. There is a consciousness on the part of the poet and an evocation of the Renaissance authors in particular. Oberon's ancestry and place in lore and literature - Classical, Celtic or Germanic - needs no retelling. But Doughty makes a mystery here of the name of Oberon's queen: "Not yet I find recorded her lief name." And to pin down the link with Spenser's feery world, he says that the name was known to 'Colin', but he left it untold. The hesitation probably springs from the fact that while Oberon whose name comes in a Celtic legend is indeed the King of Elves in all previous Elvish poetry, there does not exist the same degree of unanimity about the name of his queen. In Shakespeare's "Midsummer Night's Dream" she is Titania, whose name is taken from a Greco-Latin word meaning "Titan's daughter" or "Titan's Sister". In classical literature the name occurs only in Ovid who calls Latona, Pyrrha, Diana and Circe by that name because they were descendants of the Titans. But the consort of Oberon in Drayton's "Nymphidia" is Queen Mab and not 'Titania'. Queen Mab's name is of Irish or Welsh origin and Shakespeare has used her, not as Oberon's wife, but as the 'fairies midwife' in "Romeo and Juliet", and in the Nineteenth Century Shelley wrote a poem on "Queen Mab". Thus Doughty expresses the mystery around Oberon's Queen's name, and thus

links his elves with all the elvish poetry written before him from Spenser, Shakespeare, Ben Jonson, Drayton and the rest.

And when the elvish episode ends, we discover that it was 'a merry dream', from which the poet awakens to find himself nowhere other than in 'Watling Street', reminiscent not only of the great Roman road from the South of England to the North, but also to Chaucer's reference to the Milky Way in the 'House of Fame', (ii, 431):

> And some, parfay,
> Callen it Watling Street.

The poet, ostensibly still in his dream, is 'lifted up' to behold the Dream-City. (1) The Muse tells him about it, and to it goes the poet, and the poem returns to the main theme of the search for truth and knowledge. As he was at the very beginning of the poem, here again he is in the midst of the moving crowds in a market-place, although this is the market-place of the Dream-City. As he does in most of the poems, here the poet moves from one street to another, from one building to another and from one group of men to another speaking to this, or listening to that. And as is always the case with Doughty, most of these to whom he speaks are Doughty himself in his different disguises. He is the poet who is given "Of tongues ..... an understanding mind" (Page 198) and he is at the same time the man to whom the poet speaks,

a chapman who "trafficked to far Countries, East and West;
And knew the mind of Nations, of unlike
Both hew and hearts, and more than gold in purse,
Had gotten knowledge." (Page 198)

(1) Notice that "Mansoul's Dream-City" is the title of Book VI, which does not begin here, but about ten pages after.

And he again was the "learned Licentiate" of Page 198.

All the throng moves forward and the poet with them, and the first group he sees were 'solemn long-gowned ancients' with 'foreheads rimpled', who remind us of the Swiftian parts of the Prophetic Books. There are men of thought, philosophy and sciences, but some of them bring no help with their knowledge 'to body's health' or 'to allay man's souls solicitudes", and they are swept aside when the crowd surges forward.

The crowd is on its way to hear 'Mansoul' give account of the results of his long search among the wisest of men in past ages - the summing-up of all human wisdom. Two points stand out at the outset. First, the poet says that Mansoul is 'now plainly of human mould' and we begin to suspect that the change from his early huge stature must be attributed to some disappointment in the results of his search. Secondly, Mansoul speaks and his first words are in praise of the Gods - which shows that doubt and disappointment do not and cannot extend to the sphere of religion.

Mansoul is indeed disappointed for, among all the wise men of the past, none could comfort him:

> "..... all spake darkness: prisoned had been each,
> In blind compacture of a corruptible flesh:
> Whence, one and all, might little they unfold.
> Each from eyehole, of his small tenement
> Of clay gazed forth: The Rest, past reasons reach,
> Man taketh, as finding naught better, upon Trust.

So the collective authority of the wisdom of humanity in the past arrived at the two cardinal points, of which Mansoul himself knew before he started on his journey - that reason's power to know is very limited by the effect

of man's limitations in time and in the weakness of flesh and that the rest beyond that must be taken on faith. The two sides of Doughty's 'metaphysics' are thus shown to be the quintessence of all human wisdom.

Mansoul, not satisfied with the answers of the sages of the past, carried on his search in other spheres. First, he says, he tried to probe into the inside of created beings: both animate and inanimate. In both there is, in Doughty's opinion, an inner power:

> ".... lurks, in every atomy of this World's dross;
> Though void of sensible life, an intimate force."

There is animation, sometimes dormant, even in matter. Rocks in "The Titans" were made alive. And likewise, there is in man himself a part which is substantial - his flesh. Doughty has studied creation in all its phases, the inanimate, then the semi-animate and then the living side of it. He has studied the:

> "Attractions and repulsions, not unlike
> To perturbations, in Mans jelly-flesh;"

and the study was in vain. He studied other sides of nature:

> "And diligently I gave ear;
> If haply, I, in Rhythm, of the Universe;
> Some super-elemental Voice might hear.
> But to no purpose!"

The search was exhaustive and complete:

> "Though mine every sense,
> I bent to the uttermost, and continued thus:"

but because of the "manifest Note, of Imperfection!" everywhere and in everything he could not understand:

> "..... the Dumb Powers, from whence derive,
> Unto this day, the activities of our lives."

And the result of all is:

"What though I tread continually all lives' paths:
The murmur of all waters cannot teach;
Nor winds blind breath, which substance of all speech,
Instruct my spirit."

Man's life is short, too short for the happiest and luckiest of men to find a permanent solution to the 'Riddle of the Universe'. Each man, therefore, has his own short-sighted and fickle opinion, and that opinion "daily ..... veereth as a vane", until each one of us goes his way

"..... like some garish-bubble, in trembling stream;
To, unto nothingness, be resolved anon."

Mansoul's long quest was in vain, and the effects of the useless effort magnify the disappointment and the near-despair.

One does not expect the book to end on such a dreary note, for Doughty is always on the side of hope. Significantly, the answer comes from people who have not been on a search for wisdom, but from those who live in this Dream-City. From the house-tops voices are heard in answer to the desperate note in Mansoul's report. Their opinion, being like Mansoul's, part of Doughty's own opinion, does not bring in any new points of fact or argument. It accepts the results of Mansoul's search, but instead of dwelling on the gloomy side it brings out the positive sides of it, and thus gains in equanimity and reassurance. First, it accepts the impossibility of the perfect knowledge of the Infinite Powers by man, and calls them the 'Infinite Unknown'. Secondly it accepts the limitations of time and space and their consequences in the lives of men. But it does not stop there to moan and groan. It notes that each effort, be it small or great, towards knowledge brings us more light. In this

gradual progress, it maintains the individual gains because by degrees 'The Vision of our Souls' is purged, and the community of men gain, because what our fathers did in the past, which was theirs, becomes part of our wisdom, in the present, which is ours. What we do in our present paves the road towards a better future, for us and for our children later:

> "..... In time to come,
> When these days shall be old, more lights shall shine;
> On tardy generations of new men."

Although 'change' is the lot of individual men, creation itself continues unchecked. The soul of man in its mutability is likened to a bird in lines reminiscent of Wordsworth's 'Immortality Ode', and all the expressions of that semi-poetic, semi-philosophical, semi-mystical theory of souls, that Plato engendered:

> Our soul is as a bird, which lights on spray:
> We know not whence it cometh unto our sight.

But compared to the changes and the flux, symptoms and manifestations of stability, and permanence are not lacking:

> "Shines everywhere the same Sun. Infinitude hangs,
> O'er all our heads of everlasting stars:"

Man as much as possible is thus reassured, and hope is brought back again through the voices of the inhabitants of the Dream-City. Thus the Dream-City becomes the symbol and the image of hope and reassurance in "Mansoul". Book VI describes it and introduces us to its inhabitants.

In "The Titans", Doughty's ideal state-city was, as we have noticed, drawn with Aneyza and Zamil in mind. There the stress was on the government of the city and its public affairs. But "Mansoul" is a mental quest, and the problems of government are not in the foreground.

What is in the foreground is the exploitation of men's energy, and the manifestations of his mental, physical and artistic capacity. Arabia could not be his prototype. The ideal of "Mansoul's Dream-City" is taken from the ancient Greek City-States. Athens in particular, with its 'Acropolis', is the model, but to it are added all the various important activities added to the field of human endeavour from the great heights of Athenian civilization till we come to the modern scientific age in Europe. Thus the first party we meet are consequently the 'Philosophers', and a group of them - 'Hellenes', Doughty says - begin to give us the benefits of their search, which is the best way to Truth and Righteousness and Knowledge ~~is~~ to renounce all unnecessary things of life and thus be

Lifted above base ferment of birth-flesh.

Yet among the 'Philosophers' themselves there are some whose work is of no use because they 'pursued after painted butterflies', and because each in his selfishness and blindness would 'loud profess':

"When he had caught a fly, of human ills."

that he has found the only 'sovereign Remedy'.

The second group the poet deals with are the 'astrologers' whom he calls 'Sons of Urania':

Gazing, through perspective tubes, they may pierce;
The amazing Vision of heavens starry coast!

Those, 'great-souled, large-browed, attent', record the revolution of the Earth and the Stars. What they record, they record with certainty. Among them there are no dissenters as among the philosophers; yet in the adjacent chamber there was raging a fierce argument between the scientists about the origin of 'this material visible Universe', and 'whence Sun and Stars,

Their being had derived'. Doughty then gives us some of the geographers opinions in the Nineteenth Century of how the 'great flaming bulk' of the Sun in its whirling had given birth to the Earth, and the Earth in turn gave birth to the Moon, and how the gradually cooled down and became the hardened earth on which we live; and how every now and then the 'tension of that planetary dross' erupts in volcanoes. There a young man, and we do not need to tell who, says he has visited 'Etna's cinder-core' while the volcano was in eruption. Doughty was always aware of the distinction of having seen Etna in wrath:

> "..... To see so much
> Of Nature's soulless, elemental Force;
> That can lift Continents, and Sea-grounds abase;
> Falleth unto few."

Here in this part of "Mansoul" in another long episode (about six pages) he recounts his experiences in that unique moment.

The poet continues then to wander about and the next group we meet are:

> Heirs of those giants, which wrested at the first;
> The Keys of Heaven, from the ancient Gods.

These scientists, engineers and the like bring back the promethean world of "The Titans" where man through their insight was able to make machines:

> "..... those soulless engines, in one hour;
> Wrought more than might men's hands, in a round year;
> For the World's welfare."

Those "Founders and Builders ..... of a New Era:"

> "..... bridle, they even compel
> Earth's elements, to yield their Titanic force;
> Obey their list and execute all their hests."

But to counter-balance the note of certain hope engendered by these men,

Doughty brings in new 'Voices That Pass', who revive the older groans of despair and murmurs of disappointment - brought as ever by 'some malignant influence'. But in turn 'Other Voices' answer them back, saying: "A reverent expectation best befits us;
And live in Faith of the Eternal Good."

Philosophers, Scientists and doubting dissenters - but the picture cannot of course be complete without the Arts. The next group we meet is a group of poets. Among the poets, the inevitable choice are the authors of "The Canterbury Tales" and "The Fairie Queene". The words bringing in Chaucer show the same qualified admiration as was shown in the 'Post Illa' to "The Dawn in Britain" written about 15 years ago. Here the reason for the restraint is made clear, that not all Chaucer's talk is serious, for some of his pages are full of 'churls' borel talk'. Spenser is admired without qualifications; "(How I admired the turning of each verse!)", and Doughty's position to his art clearly stated: "(Whose Art is mine endeavour to restore.)" Other poets, unnamed by Doughty, follow and a discussion arises about poets and the art of poetry.

The most important part of Doughty's message is not the metaphysical side, but the practical side. In the field which he has chosen as his from the beginning, and in which he believed he was by both inspiration and arduous preparation, most qualified to speak up - the field of poetry - he must have a lot to say in this last summing up of his message in "Mansoul". Although it is, necessarily, a backward glance, it is a summing-up all the same. Poets are not to be found

everywhere. A poet is a rare bird, first because he is one of the 'chosen' few, elected by the Muse, and secondly because poetry demands the undivided loyalty and unflinching effort of a life-time. He must always dedicate all his self for his noble arduous profession:

"Must Poet, priest of the Muses, eyewasht, dipt:
His soul in well of life; his mortal part,
In pure white lawn arrayed, and consecrate:
Hill-steep ascend alone, with painful steps:
And from celestial height, fetch vital breath."

No dilution of this serious self-dedication should ever be allowed:

"Wherefore be those too much to blame, that pinch,
Of malice, rankling in ungenerous breast,
- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - (Page 225)

And this all-inclusive effort of noble dedication must aim at the service of Man by chanting hymns 'of Heavenly Beauty' with 'a sense of Music', and in 'Fulness of Vision' from a breast where:

"..... dwelleth Love, and Hope is left,
Ingenuous ....."

The dedicated religious service of writing poetry is likened, in purity of motives and ends, and in practice, to the building of a 'Cathedral':

"The Site considered well, and all made plain;
And plotted out the pattern of the Place;
His strong foundation truly laid thereon:
He rears well-dressed, to reed, square, lead and line;
Up stately walls, that age-long may endure,"

And in this great edifice of poetic construction, humanity will find a haven:

"From troublous traffic of the World without:
And bow their knees, unto the God of Peace."

There the words, the bricks from which this poetic 'Cathedral' is built,

"..... well-fledged words, eye big with orient light;
Of golden, heaven-derived beams, shed to Earth:
Be as threaded pearls of price, on living lace."

The act of writing poetry is an act of religious service, and the poets, as a group in "Mansoul's Ideal City" were bound to hold an important place. Likewise do the representatives of another art, "On whom some Kindred Muse, Hath gracious breathed " - the 'Painters'.

The crowd surges on and the poet moves with them and meets and speaks ~~about~~ to other groups. Some are points of arguments discussed before, like the problem of human 'Reason' and its adequacy or otherwise to be man's only guide, "Sufficient to right governance of our lives", and the usual platonic ideas on the journey of the soul from Eternity to mortal life and back to Eternity (Page 229). Some are new points brought in only here, like the praise he directs to Chemist/ to/ studies "the virtues of all saps, Of herbs and roots;" and the doctor who tries "to every sore apply meet remedies", and who:

"A comforter is, in chamber of the sick;"

stand against men and death at their own peril, whenever epidemics threaten the lives of men. Doughty could not easily forget the time when, in Arabia, he travelled as a physician and/was received as a doctor. Yet he knew, and here he expresses it, that no physician's skill can solve the riddle of death.

The next group comes, not like the physicians and chemists from Europe, but comes from the Orient. If the West provides examples of Man's Reason at work in the field of Science, the Orient provides examples of Man's faith in Heaven. Here are "men of the East", turbaned elders from "Great Religious Asia", and Doughty was 'given' to understand "those

Strangers' speech". What he understands was given to us many times before - that Heaven always accepts the efforts of men who are pure at heart, and that man's confidence lies only in the 'Mercy of Heaven'.

Then the poet sees another group, men who have this time come from the West, but live and find peace in the ways of the East. These are the Franciscan monks whom Doughty had met and known in the Lebanon and Palestine, helping and comforting all the weary travellers in the Holy Land. Here in "Mansoul's Dream City" they, meekly worshipping God, pass under a pylon on which the word 'Humility' is 'superscribed'.

At last the poet rises to spheres where no groups could be except the 'Elect' of God gathered in what he calls the 'Great Parliament House', where all the 'aspirations' of all people and all faiths are received and purged and later forwarded to the 'Throne Divine', but he does not go in. Instead he goes to "a Temple-House, High lifted up. Not of Man's handiwork; Builded; but growen from ground up, as tree doth," which is dedicated:

> TO THE THRICE-HOLY ALL-ONLY ETERNAL FATHERHOOD
> WHICH HATH REVEALED HIMSELF IN ALL THE EARTH.

There all men's "pieties and their several Faiths
Accord in One; which do devoutly seek,
The Cleansing of Man's soul, towards Life, through Death.
Diverse were they, of customs, hew, guise, feature.

All men, all races and all faiths are one, and all are acceptable to God. The chief-priest of that temple presents "living sacrifice, Of all those souls". He, the chief-priest, was himself an orphan, 'of unknown

(1) See the similar sacrifice at the end of "The Cliffs" to save Britain from peril.

parentage', whose long pure life was dedicated to the service of this temple. He now leads the prayers to God. The poet withdraws to where were 'drooping shivering souls' and there he 'feared',. But he read written in 'Everlasting Light':

FEAR YE NOT LITTLE FLOCK:

and underneath,

HATH NOT JESHUA SAID THAT GOD IS LOVE."

Thus ends "Mansoul", Doughty's last message in words of certain hope, and faith in Christ and God. And this last note of Christian hope and love, reminds us of the end of 'The Dawn in Britain' in the love-story of Fudens-Rosmerta, and the end of 'Adam Cast Forth' in the vision of hope shown to Adam, and the over-all belief in Doughty's works in Man and his future.

CONCLUSION

Our first task was a study of Doughty's beginnings where we tried to discover the various factors of ancestry, of class and of family, which made up the background to his later life and work. In England in general and in Suffolk in particular we tried to show the different sides of the soil in which the new seed was planted. In the family circle, in the events of the earliest years we followed the growth of our poet step by step. At home, at school and in the university much care was taken to discover and recapture the atmosphere in which he lived and the air which he breathed. New points (like the list of the Theberton library books) were brought to bear upon the study, and every possible thread of evidence examined and made use of. Then we came to the awakening of the poet to the problems of the age, and his reactions to them, and his means to solve them. In the fields of science and religion and language and literature every effort of his was scrutinized and evaluated. Here again new material was used (e.g. The Lay of the Long-One). A concentration on his linguistic and literary studies followed where his attitude to contemporary trends is discussed, and his full studies of Early, Middle and Renaissance English language and literature are treated, with fuller use of his notes and manuscripts, than ever done before. With the actions and reactions of the poet clearly defined, his likes and dislikes, his aims and ideals summed up, we move on to the study of each of his works, with a particular emphasis in the study of each book on one particular problem. In discussing "Adam Cast Forth", for example, a

stress is laid on the sources. In discussing "The Cliffs" Doughty's ideas on the problems of his age are dealt with. In the chapter on "The Cliffs" that poem is taken as an example of 'form' in Doughty's works. In the last chapter, for example, the poet's general 'message' is explained.

This fragmentation was unavoidable, because it was impossible and at the same time unnecessary to collect all the examples and deal with the same issues in each case. Yet some repetition and interaction could not be helped, and for the length - unbearable and inexcusable perhaps in this age of complexity and concentration - we apologize. But what can one do if the poet himself had no respect for or readiness to abide by, the tendency of the age towards concentration and brevity? The prose book only was made up of two volumes of pages each. The first published poem was an epic of 24 books, and each subsequent work, which could be written as a poem was extended to become a book. Even this long thesis is nothing but thin and bony compared to the huge volume of Doughty's works. An article could afford to be short and concentrated, but not a detailed thesis on the works of this voluminous poet.

Still I have tried to make it as short as I can, without sacrificing what appeared to me essential for the understanding of Doughty's works. A long detailed study of "The Clouds", for example, ~~only~~ written

for Chapter VIII was curtailed. An appendix giving more examples from Doughty manuscripts was left out. A study of the changes in the texts of 'Mansoul,' the (1920) edition, the (1923) edition, and changes he was making in that last edition, before his death, had to be excluded. And here we dispense with the customary summing-up, hoping that the chapters themselves would be sufficient thereof. We hope we have proved the unity of content and thought in Doughty's works, with the poetry, not the prose, providing the main beam. We hope we have provided the fullest study on record of Doughty's sources, which shows beyond doubt that his world rests on the two important columns of the Nineteenth Century and the Renaissance. We hope we have shed new light on his religion, his character and his aims, and followed his methods in his various works, and we hope we have drawn the right conclusions and given the correct evaluation of foreign influences on his work, particularly the Arabic influences on 'Arabia Deserta.'

Appendix I :

The list of books at Theberton Hall, sold by auction, on Friday, the 30th of August, 1850 (the third of four days) by Samuel Flick, the auctioneer, by order of the executors of the late Rev. Charles Montagu Doughty, deceased: -

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Library of Books

146 Leigh's Picture of London, 1; North and South Wales, 1; Plan de Bruxelles, 1; Debrett's Peerage, 2-5.

147 Chesterfield's Politeness, 1; Voltaire's Letters, 1; Pocket Magazine, 3-5.

148 Pamela, 4; Clarke's Sermons, 11-15.

149 Swift's Works - 11 volumes.

150 Travels of Cyrus, 1; Burnett, 1; Nouvelle's Conversation, 1; and Conducteur General, 1-4.

151 Ancient Egyptains' History of - 6 vols.

152 Edinburgh Review, 5; and the Patrician - 6.

153 Horatius in Usum Del, 1; Oredus ad Parnassum, 1; Taylor's Holy Living and Dying, 1; Watson's Apology, 1-4.

154 Sacred Classics, Jeremy Taylor's Life of Christ, 3; and Boyle's Veneration, 1-4.

155 Porteu's Summary, 1; Kett on Prophecy, 3-4.

156 Original Family Sermons, 2; and James on the Collects, 1-3.

157 Evan's Sketch, 1; Dictionary of the Bible, 1; History of Ancient Israelites, 1; Clarke's Grotius, 1-4.

158 Mason on self knowledge, 1; Watkin's Cyclopaedia, Pleasure Tours in Scotland, 1-3.

159 Kane's Mineralogy, 1; Hunter on Harrogate Waters, 1; Wallis Brighton, 1; Guides to the Lake, 1; Scarboro, 1-5.

160 Tour of Norfolk, 1; Fosbroke's Wye Tour, 1; Guide to Wales, 1; Giant's Causeway, 1; Hand Book for the Continent, 1; Cambrian Tourists, 1-6.

161 Wright's Ancient and Modern Dublin, 1; Hoyle's Games, 1; Grey's Artificial Memory, 1; Salter's Troller's Guide, 1-4.

162 The English in Italy, 3; French and English Dictionary, 1; Entick's Latin and English Dictionary, 1-5.

163 Waverly Novels, 9.

164 Byron's Works - 4.

165 Kennett's Antiquities of Rome, 1; Art of Contentment, 1; Butler's Hudibras, 1-3.

166 Lee's Plays, 3; Otway's Work's, 2-5.

167 Shakespeare's Plays, 8 vols.

168 Milton's Works, 4 vols.

169 Coat's Heraldry, 1; Dauberry's Guide, 1-2.

170 Wells' Geography of the Bible, 4 vols.

171 Valenciennes Elemens de Protique, 1; Bakewell's Geology, 1; Wheavell's Astronomy, 1; Smith's Botany, 1-4.

172 Burn's Justice (29th edition), 6 vols.

173 Blackstone's Commentaries, 4 vols.

174 Burn's Ecclesiastical Law, 4 vols.

175 Police of the Metropolis, 1; Bonycastle's Astronomy, 1; Kett's Elements, 2-4.

176 The English Flora, in 2 parts; British Flora, 1-3.

177 Zollikofer's Dignity of Man, 2; Marriott's Sermons, 3; Sumner's Sermons, 2-7.

178 Heber's Sermons, 1; Isaiah by Lowth, 1; White's Lectures, 1; Essays on the Christian Religion, 1; Doddridge on the Testament, 1-5.

179 Mosley on the Gospels, 3; and Barrow's Sermons, 3-6.

180 Paley's Sermons, 2/ ditto, and tracts, 1; ditto Horae Paulinae, 1; Theology, 1-5.

181 Paley's Evidences of Christianity, 2; ditto Moral Philosophy, 2; Bray's Discourses, 1-5.

182 The Harrovian, 1; Rigby's Translations of Chateauvieux, 1; Glossary to Milton's Paradise Lost, 1-3.

183 Johnson's Dictionary, 1; Maw's Gardener, 1-2.

184 Lempriere's Classical Dictionaries, 9th and 15th edition.

185 Simpson's Euclid, 1; Wood's Algebra, 1-2.

186 Eccentric Biography, 1; Dolce's Miscellanies, 3; Anson's Voyage, 1; Philip's Mineralogy, 1-6.

187 Principles of Politeness, 1; Fitzosborne's Letters, 1; Coelebs in Search of a Wife, 2-4.

188 Devere, 3; the Disowned, 3-6 novels.

189 The Disputed Inheritance, by Dumas, 1; the Hunchback, 1; Consuelo, 2-4.

190 The Parlour Novalists, 3; Convents of Paris, 1; Jameson's Romance of Biography, 2 vols. - 6.

191 Macaulay's Medical Dictionary, 1; Graham's Medicine, 1; Maunsell and Evanson on the Diseases of Children, 1-3.

192 Blackwall's Introduction, 1; Hugo Grotius, 1; Musae Anglicanae, 2; Knox on Education, 2-6.

193 Plutarch's Lives, 5.

194 Tacitus de Moribus Germanorum, 1; Lucanus, 1; Tacitus, 2-4.

195 Ovidii Opera Cimping, 3; Hutchinson's Zenophon, 1-4.

196 Holy Bible and Book of Prayer, folio (1679).

197 Luciani Opera, 2.

198 Clarke on the Evangelists, 2; Dauberry's Guide to the Churches, 3-5.

199 Locke's Essays, 2; Gisborne on Paley's Philosophy, 2-5.

200 Wheatley on the Common Prayer, 1; Tomline's Theology, 3-2.

201 TheKnight's Harmony of the Gospels, 2; Translations of the Epistles, 6-8.

202 Horne on the Scriptures, 5.

203 Burnett's History of the Reformation, 4; ditto on the 39 Articles, 1-5.

204 Novum Testamentum Graecum, 3; Juvenalis Ruperti, 2-5.

205 Clarke's Homer, 2; Virgilius Heyne, 4-6.

206 Caesarii Oudendorpii, 2.

207 Euripide's Greek and Latin Bechii, 3.

208 Analysis of Beauty, 1; Beauties of the Court of Charles the Second, 2-3.

209 Loudon on County Residences, 2; Modern Painters, 2; 7 Lamps of Architectures, 1-5.

210 Smirke's Don Quixote, with plates, 4.

211 Cities of Etruria, 2.

212 Annals of the Artists of Spain, 3; The Poetry and Legendary Art, 2-5.

213 Ainsworth's Dictionary, 1; and Fox's Observations, 1-2.

214 Bible and Prayer Books (1706).

215 Hunt's Bible, 3 vols.

216 Hedcrici Lexicon, 1; Calmet's Dictionary, 3-4.

217 Cambridge Concordance, 1; Cruden's ditto, 1-2.

218 Rapin's History of England, to James 2nd.

219 Terentius, 1; Barrow on Education, 2; Congreve's Plays, 3-6.

220 Grey's Hudibras, 2; Prior's Poems, 2; Modern Dramatist, 2-6.

221 Adventures of Telemarchus, 2; Oldham's Works, 2; Francis Horace.

222 Rollin's Belles Letters, 4; Consolations in Travel, 1-5.

223 Byron's Life and Works, 17 vols.

224 Sterne's Works, 10 vols.

225 Spectator, 8.

226 Burn's Works, 8.

227 Crabbe's Works, 8.

228 Pope's Works, 9.

229 Arabian Nights, 6.

230 Kennett's Roman Antiquities, 1; William of Wykeham, 1; Otway's Works, 3-5.

231 Moore's Lalla Rookh, 1; Wotton and Cotton's Angler, 1; De Lome's Constitution of England, 1; Boccaccios Decameron, 1; White's Selborne, 1-5.

232 Scott's Miscellaneous Prose, 6.

233 Introduction to Etymology, 3; Cowper's Poems, 2-5.

234 Hume's History of England, 8.

235 Smollett's ditto, 5.

236 Mathilde, 2; Corinne, 2-4.

237 The Lounger, 2; the Mirror, 2; Coleman's Terence, 2-6.

238 Boswell's Life of Johnson, 4 vols.

239 Milton's Poetical Works, 6

240 Potter's Grecian Antiquities, 2; Walton's Lives, 2-4.

241 Churchill's Works, 2; Treeson's Mythology, 1; Plague in London, 1; Southey's Book of the Church, 1-5.

242 Dibdin's Thomas a Kempis, 1; Bartall on Cottages, 1; Gilpin's Essays, 1; Annual Register, 2; Oeuvres Posthumes de Marmontel, 1-6.

243 Shakespeare's Works, 21 vols.

244 Beaumont and Fletcher's Works, 14 vols.

245 Robert Robertson's Works, 12 vols.

246 Gibbon's Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, 12.

247 Milford's History of Greece, 8.

248 Outlines of English Literature, 1; Bunyan's Pilgrim's Progress, 1; Withering's Botany, 2; Price's Essay, 1; Addison's Works, 1-6.

249 A Dele et Theodore, 3; and Exile of Siberie, 1-4.

250 Lights and Shadows of Scottish Life, 1; Moore's Epicurean, 1; Standard Novelist, 1-3.

251 Southey's Roderick, 2; Shakespeare's Plays, 1; Pollock's Course of Time, 1-4.

252 Smollett's Gil Blas, 2 vols.

253 Scott's Guy Mannering, 3; and poetry, 1-4.

254 Suckling's History and Antiquities of Suffolk, 2.

255 Westall's Don Quixote, 4 vols.

256 Bacon's Essays, 1; Family Prayers, 1; Keith's Prophecy, 1; Bellisarius, 1-4.

257 Heath's Book of Beauty, 1; Views of the Rhine, 1-2.

258 Drawing Room Scrap Book, 1; Keepsake, 1; Landscape Annual, 1-3.

259 Fragments, 1; Prayer Book, 1; Paradise Regained, 1; Wilberforce Practical View, 1-4.

260 Quantity of school books.

261 Ditto

262 Colaridge's Poems, 1; Snow Drop, 1; Abbott's Way to be Good, 1; Johnson's Walker's Dictionary, 1; Art of Angling, 1; Reckoner, 1-6.

263 Four Nos. of Knight's weekly volumes on painting.

264 Dryden's Virgil, 2; Graham's Sabbath, 1; Beattie's Minstral, 1; Cowper's Poems, 2-6.

265 Property and Income Tax Act, Commutation of Tithes. Patterson's Roads, Brooke's Gazetter.

266 La Henriad, 1; Rassilas, 1; Hudibras, 1; Virgil, 1; Cicero, 1; Johnson's Dictionary, 1-6.

267 Beauties of Byron, 1; Cowper's Poems, 2; Vicar Wakefield's, 1-4.

268 Watt's on the Mind, 1; Goldsmith's Poems, 1; Beauties of Shakespeare, 1; Milton's Paridise, 1-4.

269 Oeuvere de Voltaire, 8 vols.

270 Galpine's Botany, 4; Thompson's Seasons, 1; Gathered Flowers, 1; Language of Flowers, 1; Parting Gift, 1-5.

271 Greek Bible, 1; Tasso, 2; Johnson's Dictionary, 1; Pelico, 1-5.

272 Dickinson's Justice, 3; Eagle's Magistrate's Companion, 1-4.

273 Vegetable Kingdom, 1; Cobbet's Grammar, 1; Recovery of H.M.S. Gorgon, 1-3.

274 Six small volumes on Religious Subjects, by Baxter, Cunningham, Mant and others.

275 Companion to the Bible, 1; Anxious Enquierer, 1; Family Prayers, 2-4.

276 British Critic, 16 Nos.

277 The Velvet Cushion, 1; Graham on Cold Water, 1; Scudamore on ditto, 1; Abernerhy on Local Diseases, 1-4.

278 Inrie on Teeth, and Scott.

279 Sixteen Nos. of the Art Journal.

280 Two Classics, and vol. of Sermons and Poor Law.

281 Sunday Penny Reader, and Maps of Europe, England and Suffolk in cases.

282 Frugal Housewife, 1; Domestic Cookery, 1; Interest Table, and Working Man's Friend, 1-4.

283 Family Library, Life of Nelson, 1; Court and Camp of Buonaparte, 1; Life of Bruce, 1; Life of Columbus, 1; History of Insects, 1; Venetian History, 1-6.

284 Eight Nos. of the Quarterly Theological Review.

285 Six odd volumes of various subjects.

286 Sundry books and odd Nos.

287 Four lots of odd books.

End of Third Day's Sale

[illegible]

179 [illegible]

APPENDIX II

The Lay of the Long-One.

I

De Tesswill of the limp-shank
Upon his beard he swore
That the athletic taunt of Downing
Should be a taunt no more;
Upon his beard he swore it
That beard of brindled clay
And east and west, to every side,
The limp De Tesswill lightly hied
To summon to the fray.

II

Full many a word of weakest worth
De Tesswill lightly spake,
Till weary ear refused to hear
And weary heads did ache;
Full many a half-made answer
Did there abortive die,
Nought reck'd he of the words of men,
Himself could talk as much as ten,
A Tesswill scorns reply!

III

Some where they sat in slumber
Their listless heads had hung,
While still around them echoed
The Long-One's ceaseless tongue;
For each had tried one word to speak,
But Ah! had tried in vain,
And now they lry confounded there,
Amaz'd, stiff-stricken, in despair,
With word-bemuddled brain.

IV

IV

Coldly the night had fallen
On Downing's Castled Keep,
And deeply by the portal
Did the grim Warder sleep;
But ah! no dewy slumbers
His crowding cares repress,
Through the long night De Tasswill seemed
Still fretting, talking, while he dreamed,
A wordy nothingness.

V

'Twas morn; the LIMP-ONE lightly
Was bounding on the path,
Nought cared he for towel,
Nought reck'd he of the bath;
To trim that beard he stay'd not
When summoned from his Home,
Not his with brushes to displace
His limpy locks' entangled grace,
De Tasswill spurns a comb!

VI

How throngs the pride of Downing,
Nor lack there Cambridge Cads,
Comes Salway of the Silver tongue,
Comes Brickwood of the BRADS,
The foremost he by fell or field,
Where men may foremost be,
De Kettle of the marble Brow,
Whom thick lipp'd Maidens wail o'en now
Far o'er the western sea.

VII

But lo! De Marsham lingers!
Why stays he by the bower?
Still toys he with his Johnson
All heedless of the hour?
Oh! dark funereal Johnson,
What have thy dark eyes done!
For fleet De Foote hath roundly sworn
He will not wait for woman-born,
The hundred yards are run!

VIII

VIII

Full in the eyes of beauty,
They gird them to the mile,
De Tasswill first of human things
Accounts a Lady's smile.
Now stir thee grim De Brickwood!
De Tasswill stir thee now!
For foremost in the chase, I ween,
Is Kettle of the matchless mien,
He of the paley brow!

IX

Lo! leaping to the vanward
A form of agile grace,
The shadowy bloom of manhood
Thick clusters on his face;
Cold grew De Tasswill's courage,
Short grew De Nash's stride;
Only The Brickwood saw unmoved
The figure of the Knight he loved,
First in the place of pride.

X

Oh stay thee! stay thee! MACCOLL,
Thy glory lies not here,
Thy voice was aye the sweetest
In winsome lady's ear,
Thy touch was aye the softest,
Oh half-averted cheek,
Not thine the LIMP-ONE's bony size,
Thy gift to read in meaning eyes
What beauty may not speak.

XI

Now nearer - nearer! looms the goal
And Tasswill is the cry,
A grin came o'er his bony cheek,
A light leap'd in his eye;
Sure never longer limper Knight
Was seen in chase before!
De Kettle's ducky spirit quailed,
De Nash's dying effort fail'd,
'Twas said .... The Brickwood swore!

XII

Then up spake shrewd De SALWAY
The Knights and squires among,
"Long are thy limbs, SIR BONY,
And long thy nimble tongue,
But by my faith, Sir Bony,
Thy pluck is longer still,
Well may the victor's chaplet grace,
From Lady's hand, thy grimy face,
Stout heart to <u>THEE</u> are fill!"

XIII

'Twere long to tell of all that fell
That day to great and small,
How D'Anby jeered, how Marrish 'joked,
And sneered the SLIM Maccoll;
How sunlike from his cloud of serge
De Miers' visage shone;-
For well I ween THESE DEEDS shall be
The theme of after minstrelsy,
When Downing's pride is gone.

XIV

And Bards shall sing in Downing
To those that still remain,
Of him that gave the silver Cup,
And him the goblets twain,
The silver-gleaming goblets,
All bright within with gold,
While Freshmen shake their heads and say,
Alack! we are not such as THEY
In the brave days of old.

(Cambridge, 1864)

"B I B L I O G R A P H Y"

I. THE WORKS OF C.M. DOUGHTY :

A. Printed Works :

1. "The Lay of the Long-One." privately printed - 1864.

2. "On the Fóstedal-brae Glaciers in Norway.. " - 1866.

3. "Report" on the geographical discoveries in Arabia - 'Globus,' 1880-2.

4. "Documents épigraphiques recueillis dans le nord de l'Arabie..." 1891.

5. "Travels in Arabia Deserta" : 2 vols.: Cambridge : 1888.
"Travels in Arabia Deserta" with a new preface by Doughty and an introduction by T.E. Lawrence : 1921.
"Travels in Arabia Deserta" with a new preface by the Author - 1923.
A thin paper edition in one volume : 1926.
"Wanderings in Arabia" an abridgement by E. Garnett - 1908.
"Passages from Arabia Deserta" selected by E. Garnett -1931.
"Passages from Arabia Deserta" : Garnett's selection issued in 'Penguin Books'' : 1956.

6. "Under Arms" a collection of poems privately printed - 1900

7. "The Dawn in Britain" 6 vols. : 1906
"The Dawn in Britain" : The Centenary editions with an introduction by R. Robbins : 1943.
"Selected Passages from D. in B." by B. Fairley : 1935

8. "Adam Cast Forth" (Sacred Drama in Five Songs)- 1908

9. "The Cliffs" (A Drama of the Time in Five Parts) - 1909

10. "The Clouds" - 1912.

11. "The Titans" (Subdued to the Service of Man) - 1916

12. "Mansoul or The Riddle of the World" - 1920
"Mansoul or The Riddle of the World" a new and revised edition - 1923.

13. "Hogarth's 'Arabia'"Reprinted from 'The Observer' :1922.

B. Manuscripts:

1. The 'Note-books' of the Arabian Journey : FitzWilliam Museum Library, Cambridge.

2. "The 'Word-Notes' on the various works, Cains College Library, Cambridge.

3. "The Ultimate Isle" : an early manuscript of "The Dawn in Britain," The British Museum Library, London.

4. Various letters at the FitzWilliam Museum Library, and at Downing College Library, Cambridge.

II. GENERAL REFERENCES :

1. Abercrombie, Lascelles : in "The Epic"
"The Liverpool Post," July 1909
"The Manchester Guardian,"May,16th 1912
"The Quarterly Review" 1915
CCIV, Pp 398-414.

2. Ad-Dimashqi :"Cosmographic de ....ed-Dimichqui" edit.A.F. Mehren, St. Petersberg : 1066

3. Al-Bairuni, "Athar al Baqiya" Chronic of Ancient Nations, Edit. by Sachau, London 1879.

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